PUBLICATIONS DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'INDOLOGIE No

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES ÉTUDES TAMOULI
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH

COMPTE-RENDU
DE LA
TROISIÈME CONFÉRENCE INTERNATIONALE

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SEMINAR

PARIS 1970

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'INDOLOGIE
PONDICHÉRY
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IMPRIMERIE DE SRI AUROBINDO ASHRAM

PONDICHÉRY

Editors

X. S. THANI NAYAGAM

FRANÇOIS GROS

INTRODUCTION

The papers included in this volume have been collected by Father X. S. Thani Nayagam, and the printing process carried out in Pondicherry by Dr. F. Gros.

Apart from a few specialists, most of the authors — to say nothing of their readers — pay to diacritical marks a very unequal and meagre tribute, each one usually following (steadily or not) a system of his own. Although some attempt has been done for consistency according to the transliteration adopted in this collection, some discrepancies still remain. Some very common words (*e.g. sangam*) have ordinarily received the most common spelling as well as many historical names (e.g. *Thesawalamai* or *Polygar*) and toponyms (e.g. *Tanjore*), while proper names were often spelt as usual in their owners' bibliographies or bio-data. But what if one finds *Tamilnad* or *Tamil Nadu* side by side with the hybrid *Tamilnāḍu*, when the only correct transliteration (at least in our system) is *TamiLnāṭu*, the only one to be conspicuously ignored since IATR exists ? The editor can crave for indulgence by claiming that he paid to diacritics at least as much respect as the authors. He takes the opportunity to thank the printers, The Shri Aurobindo Ashram Press in Pondicherry, for their cooperation in heartily speeding up the task.

F.G.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE - SEMINAR OF TAMIL STUDIES

A Brief Report

The Third Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies organised by the International Association of Tamil Research was held at the ancient and historic Collège de France, place Marcelin-Berthelot, Paris, from 15 to 18 July 1970, under the Chairmanship of the President of the Association, Professor Jean Filliozat, Professor at the Collège de France, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), and Director of the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry. Generous facilities were provided by UNESCO, by CIPSH, by the authorities of the Collège de France and the staff of the EFEO, and by the Bureau d'accueil of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The First Announcement of the Conference was widely circulated by the French Institute of Indology as well as by the Conference Secretariat in Madras and the Ceylon National Unit, and republished in the *Journal of Tamil Studies*. Many Heads of University Departments saw to the circulating of the Announcement among their Staff. No special invitations were sent to individuals or to institutions, except where such invitations were expressly asked for in order to obtain a grant or to obtain leave. The First Announcement which was also an invitation was despatched with meticulous care also to all scholars who had participated in the First and Second Conferences. The newspapers in Tamil-speaking countries gave adequate publicity to the announcements and to the Conference. Subsequent announcements were despatched to all those who had registered with the Conference Secretariat or made enquiries, and to other prospective scholar participants and observers.

ATTENDANCE :

There were altogether one hundred and twenty registered participants and sixty registered observers. Several others from France and England were visitors to the Conference Sessions. Of the one hundred and twenty participants, there were one from AUSTRALIA, one from AUSTRIA, one from BELGIUM, one from CAMBODIA, one from CANADA, eight from CEYLON, three from DENMARK, one from FINLAND, twenty-five from FRANCE, eight from WEST GERMANY, one from FRENCH GUIANA, two from HOLLAND, twenty from INDIA, one from JAPAN, two from MALAYSIA, two from MAURITIUS, one from MARTINIQUE, one from

from NIGERIA, one from REUNION, one from RUMANIA, one from SIERRA LEONE, one from SINGAPORE, three from SWEDEN, two from SWITZERLAND, eight from the UNITED KINGDOM and five from the U.S.A. The UNESCO registered four Observers, the CIPSH one. Other Associations which nominated participants and observers were the Franco-Indian Association, Paris, the London Tamil Caṅkam, and the Tamil Film and Arts Association, London. A number of visitors from Paris and London attended the Sessions. It is a matter for regret that scholars from Czecho-Slovakia, East Germany and Russia did not attend the Conference-Seminar.

SESSIONS :

The special aim of the Paris Conference was to acquaint Western scholars with the latest developments and research in the various fields of Tamil Studies, and the various sessions succeeded in conveying information through survey papers and through discussion. Because of the late arrival of some of the papers, it was not possible to circularize all papers before the sessions. The opening session at which Dr. Malcolm A. Adiseshiah, Acting Director General of Unesco delivered the Inaugural Address, was attended also by prominent scholars in fields other than Indian Studies and representatives of cultural institutions in Paris. Since the Collège de France has always asserted its independence of politics, invitations are not issued for such academic conferences to non-academic groups or to Government officials. The presence of two Ministers of the Madras Ministry, the Chief Minister and the Finance Minister, and of the Chief Minister of Pondicherry are to be considered historic exceptions. The Chief Minister of Madras, the Hon'ble M. Karunanidhi also addressed the opening session in Tamil, and the Madras Minister of Finance, Hon'ble M. Mathialakan, addressed the opening session in English. Professor Filliozat delivered the address of welcome and the Presidential Address. Mr. A. Subbiah submitted his report on the Madras Conference. Proceedings commenced with recorded devotional music of Salem Jayalakshmi. An invocatory veṇpā was sung by Pulavar K. V. Jagganathan of Madras.

Attendance at the various sessions was very good in spite of a crowded programme, and the discussions contributed not a little to the pooling of information on the latest research. A number of topics like the Decipherment of the Indus Valley Script, the Chronology of Caṅkam Literature and the mutual influences of Tamil and Sanskrit, occasioned lively discussions, while the papers on Tamil Society and Modern Tamil Literature occasioned useful supplementary comments. The sessions were presided over mostly by the President and Vice-Presidents of the Association. It was decided to give the same honour to Mr.

N. D. Sundaravadivelu, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, and to Prof. M. Varadarajan of the same University. The Secretaries-General functioned as Secretaries of the sessions and saw to the implementation of the programme, and to the disposal of the correspondence along with Prof. Jean Filliozat. Madame B. Ortoli and Mlle Alix Raison gave secretarial assistance, as did also the Secretaries of Mr. Emmanuel Pouchpadass, First Secretary of the Embassy of India in Paris. French and English were the main languages used at the Conference. Tamil was also used by a few participants.

Altogether thirty survey papers and specialised papers were presented. The papers sent by those who were not able to be present in person were not submitted to the Conference. It was decided that papers not actually submitted at the Conference would not be included in the *Proceedings*.

At the Concluding Session presided over by Professor X. S. Thani Nayagam the participants passed a resolution by acclamation, recommending that *Unesco*, at its forthcoming session invites member states to aid India in founding an International Institute of Tamil Studies, in Madras. Dr. N. Bammate of Unesco's division of Culture and Humanities also addressed the Concluding Session. The Concluding Session also passed a vote of condolence on the untimely death of Dr. Rama Subbiah of Malaysia, and Dr. Tittelbach of Germany. Dr. Rama Subbiah was a Section Secretary and organized the Exhibition for the Kuala Lumpur Conference of 1966 and was joint editor of the Kuala Lumpur *Proceedings*.

RESIDENTIAL AND OTHER FACILITIES :

Participants made their own arrangements for accommodation except where the help of the Secretariat was sought. Some participants were guests of French families. For participants who were visiting France for the first time, especially from India, a batch of volunteers residents in the Maison de l'Inde of the Cité Universitaire were organized to give all necessary assistance. For participants sponsored by the Government of Madras, the Staff of the Embassy of India, and for Ceylonese participants the Staff of the Embassy of Ceylon, provided facilities. The *Bureau d'accueil* of the French Foreign Ministry provided transport. Mr. K. Jamaldeen, Mr. Antoine Benoit, and Mr. Ramasamy of the Maison de l'Inde were always at the service of the Indian delegates and other participants residing in the Cité Universitaire as well as outside. The Tea Propaganda Board of France provided tea and refreshments during the morning and afternoon intervals.

BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT EXHIBITION :

• The Bibliothèque Nationale organized for the duration of the Conference an exhibition of rare Tamil books and Tamil manuscripts found in France. Several visitors to Paris visited the Exhibition. The members of the Conference Seminar officially visited the Exhibition after the concluding session on the last day of the Conference.

BUSINESS SESSIONS :

The Advisory Committee of the International Institute of Tamil Studies held two meetings at which they recommended a draft constitution for the proposed Institute. The meetings were attended also by two observers from UNESCO, Mr. N. Bammate and Mr. Y. Kohno from the Division of Culture and Humanities. The meetings of the Committee were presided over by Prof. Jean Filliozat. The IATR also held a business session at wich the office-bearers were re-elected for another term. The Treasurer submitted a Statement of Accounts.

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS :

The Culture and Recreation Club of UNESCO sponsored an Evening of Tamil Dances at which Selvi Padma Subramaniam of India and Selvi Valli Satchidanandan of Ceylon rendered most exquisite *Bhārata Nāṭyam*. UNESCO's largest hall was crowded to capacity and several foreigners saw for the first time the vitality and versatility of the Tamil dance. Dr. Malcolm A. Adiseshiah addressed the gathering and presented bouquets to the dancers. (See Appendix I for the text of his speech).

There were several social functions, both public and private at which the participants were entertained. Most participants were given distinguished visitors invitations to the Bastille Day Parade on 14 July. The Acting Director General also gave a glittering reception in honour of the Conference delegates at UNESCO House which was attended by about three hundred guests. Dr. Adiseshiah proposed the toast of the IATR to which Professor Filliozat replied. The Farewell Party was given by the Collège de France on the 18th of July at 6 p.m. to which all participants and those who had helped in the organization of the Conference were invited. Professor F. B. J. Kuiper proposed the toast of the Collège de France to which Professor Filliozat replied. A post Conference visit to Versailles with lunch was organized by the *Bureau d'accueil* of the Foreign ministry for participants from Asian countries with foreign currency restrictions.

The French Press gave adequate coverage to the Conference ; *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* reported speeches of importance. Reuter and the Press Trust of India covered the events for the rest of the world. The French Television net-

work featured the opening session and the Tamil dancers, and the BBC and All India Radio broadcast extracts from the inaugural and other sessions. *Unesco* has prepared a documentary film of the Conference Seminar.

PROGRAMME

SÉANCE D'OUVERTURE. INAUGURAL SESSION

Mercredi 15 juillet — 10.00 - 11.30
Wednesday July 15

Allocution de bienvenue	Prof. Jean Filliozat, Président
Inaugural Address	Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, Acting Director-General. Unesco.
Address	Tiru M. Karunanidhi, Chief Minister Tamil Nāḍu.
Address	Tiru K. A. Mathialagan
Report	A. Subbiah, Convenor IInd I.A.T.R. Conference.
Presidential Address	Prof. Jean Filliozat.

Mercredi après-midi — 14.30 - 17.30
Wednesday afternoon

EPIGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

	Président	Prof. Jean Filliozat
1.	The Indus Valley Script	Asko Parpola
2.	The Indus Valley Script	Kamil Zvelebil
3.	Archaeology and Epigraphy (Illustrated)	R. Nagaswamy
4.	Tamil Epigraphy	I. Mahadevan

Consultative Committee meeting of the International Institute of Tamil Studies (*For Members only*). 18.00

Jeudi 16 juillet matin — 9.30 - 11.30
Thursday July 16 morning

SANGAM LITERATURE

Président — Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper

1. The chronology of Sangam Literature — V. I. Subramoniam
2. A type of apostrophes in Sangam literature — M. Varadarajan
3. The computer-aided concordance to Sangam literature — R. Panneerselvam

Jeudi après-midi — 14.30 - 16.30
Thursday afternoon

TAMIL AND SANSKRIT

Président — Prof. M. B. Emeneau
1. Tamil and Sanskrit — Jean Filliozat
2. *Akapporuḷ* and Sanskrit muktaka poetry — Siegfried Lienhard
3. Characters in *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* — Miss A. Muthuccumaru

Reception at UNESCO by Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, Acting Director-General of UNESCO. UNESCO Restaurant, 7th Floor, Place de Fontenoy — 17.30

Tamil Dances. UNESCO, salle I. By Miss Padma Subrahmanyam of India and Miss Valli Satchithananda of Ceylon — 18.30

Vendredi 17 matin — 9.30 - 11.30
Friday July 17, morning

EXTERIOR RELATIONS OF THE TAMIL COUNTRIES

President — Dr. Noboru Karashima
1. Tamil and other cultures (A Survey Paper) — T. P. Meenakshisundaran
2. Evolution of Aryan Laws — H. W. Tambiah
3. Tamil Society and Trade — S. Arasaratnam
4. The Cult of Skandakumāra in the religious history of South India and Ceylon — Heinz Bechert

5. Tamil loans in Khmer — Philip N. Jenner

Vendredi après-midi — 14.30 - 17.30
Friday afternoon

TAMIL SOCIETY

Président — Dr. N. D. Sundaravadivelu

1. The Historiography of Modern South India : an assessment of past achievements and future prospects (A survey paper). — Robert Eric Frykenberg
2. The study of contemporary Tamil Society (A survey paper). — X. S. Thani Nayagam
3. A propos de l'immigration Tamoule en Guyane. — Jean Chaïa
4. Tamil Society in Singapore, 1957-1967 — R. Ramani

Consultative Committee I.I.T.S. (*For members only*). 21.00

Samedi 18 juillet, matin — 9.30 - 11.30
Saturday July 18, morning

MODERN LITERATURE IN TAMIL

Président — Prof. M. Varadarajan

1. Modern Tamil Literature (A survey paper). — R. E. Asher
2. Poet Bhārati on Education. — N. D. Sundaravadivelu
3. An analysis of some select Tamil Journals in 1969. — V. M. Gnanaprakasam
4. Neoliterary activity in Brahui. — Hans Strasser

Samedi après midi
Saturday afternoon

SÉANCE DE CLOTURE. CONCLUDING SESSION

I.A.T.R. Business meeting (*members only*) — 14.00 - 14.30
Visit to the Tamil Exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris — 16.00
Farewell Party. Collège de France — 18.00

LISTE DES PARTICIPANTS

J. A. Arulappa	Italy
R. E. Asher	U.K.
S. Arasaratnam	Malaya
Malcolm S. Adiseshiah	UNESCO
K. Appadurai	India
P. Albert	France
J. B. Bellegarde	France
Heinz Bechert	W. Germany
N. Bammate	UNESCO
Jean Benoist	Canada
M. Biardeau	France
Sr. Mary d'Britto	India
Stephen A. Barnett	U.S.A.
Neal M. Bowers	U.S.A.
Kromamun Bidyalabh	Thailand
R. Balakrishnan	Malaya
André Bareau	France
T. Burrow	U.K.
S. M. L. Laksmanan Chettiar	India
Jean Chaïa	Guyane
C. Caillat	France
Emmanuel Pouchpa Dass	France
Jacques Pouchpa Dass	France
A. Dharmotharan	W. Germany
Ion Dumitriu	Roumanie
M. B. Emeneau	U.S.A.
A. M. Esnoul	France
Jean Filliozat	France
Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat	France
Vasundhara Filliozat	France
R. E. Frykenberg	U.S.A.
A. B. Franklin	U.S.A.
Yngve Frykholm	Sweden
V. M. Gnanapragasam	India

A. Gaur	U.K.
Sa. Ganesan	India
M. Gobalakichenane	Réunion
Albert Hesse	France
Richard Hoggart	UNESCO
K. L. Janert	W. Germany
K. V. Jagannathan	India
Philip N. Jenner	U.S.A.
R. Jenathanam	India
K. Jamaldeen	France
Y. Kohno	UNESCO
Carl A. Keller	Switzerland
Noboru Karashima	Japan
K. Kailasapathy	Ceylon
F. B. J. Kuiper (and Mrs.)	Holland
S. Kamaldeen	Ceylon
K. Kasi	France
P. G. Karuthiruman	India
K. Karunanithi	India
Leigh Lisker	U.S.A.
Siegfried Lienhard	Sweden
P. Legris	France
London Tamil Sangam (Three Scholars Dr. P. Arumugam, A. Melchior, V. Muttukumaraswamy)	
J. R. Marr.	U.K.
I. Mahadevan	India
T. P. Meenakshisundaran	India
Chandra Mudaliar	W. Germany
M. Masillamani	W. Germany
S. Maharajan	India
A. Muthuccumaru	U.K.
K. A. Mathialagan	India
S. Mok	Cambodia
S. Mukherjee	France
G. Martin	France

H. Marby	W. Germany
G. Martini	France
Farouk Maricar	Pondichéry
R. Nagaswamy	India
Hugh F. Owen	Australia
Jean d'Ormesson	CIPSH
Brynhild Ortoli	France
R. Panneerselvam	Denmark
Asko Parpola	Denmark
Else Pauly	Denmark
N. H. Palmer (and Mrs.)	U.K.
S. V. S. Pillai	Belgium
S. Perseval	France
S. Rajamanickam	India
José Pedro Rona	Canada
James T. Rutnam	Ceylon
Angelo Rasanayagam	Switzerland
R. Ramani	Singapore
Alix Raison	France
Rita Régnier	France
S. A. Srinivasan (and Mrs)	W. Germany
U. Schweinfurth	W. Germany
Gunther Sontheimer	W. Germany
H. Strasser	Austria
M. et Mme Schrimpf	France
A. Singaravelou	France
C. Sivagnanasundram	U.K.
N. D. Sundaravadivelu	India
A. Subbiah	India
S. Sanmugadasan	U.K.
Srinivasa Raghavan	India
Sivagnana Gramani	India
Chung Jen Su	Hongkong
Dolph Schifrin	U.S.A.
Vén. Sobita	France

H. W. Tambiah	Sierra Leone
V. S. Tyagarajan	India
A. J. Thamburaj	Italy
X. S. Thani Nayagam	Ceylon
K. C. Thangarajah	Ceylon
Thananjaya Raja Singham	Ceylon
Gowri Thiagarajah (Mrs.)	Ceylon
D. Uchida	Japan
Ruth Wallden	Sweden
Hans J. Vermeer	W. Germany
S. Vithiananthan	Ceylon
M. Varadarajan	India
K. Venkatasubramaniam	India
C. Vaudeville	France
Veeriah Chettiyar (and Mrs.)	Mauritius
Niels Warmdahl	Denmark
David Weiss	U.S.A.
Donna Yourkavitch	Russia
Kamil Zvelebil	Czechoslovakia

AUXILIARY VOLUNTEERS

VOLONTAIRES

Tiru Ganeshan	
Alphonse Benoist	
Tiru Victor	Maison de l'Inde,
Tiru Ramaswamy	PARIS
Kumari Bicou	

SEANCE D'OUVERTURE

INAUGURAL SESSION

PROFESSOR JEAN FILLIOZAT

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH

HON'BLE TIRU M. KARUNANIDHI

HON'BLE TIRU K. A. MATHIALAGAN

TIRU A. SUBBIAH

ALLOCUTION DE BIENVENUE WELCOME ADDRESS

PROFESSOR JEAN FILLIOZAT PRESIDENT, IATR

Monsieur le Directeur Général,
Excellences,
Messieurs les Ministres,
Mesdames, Messieurs,

C'est un grand honneur et une grande joie pour moi d'avoir à vous accueillir au nom de l'Association internationale des études tamoules et du Collège de France, un des premiers établissements où ont commencé en Europe les études tamoules. Nous dirons tout à l'heure quels sont les buts de l'Association internationale des études tamoules et quelle est la fonction traditionnelle du Collège de France. Pour le moment, je déclare simplement la séance ouverte en vous souhaitant la bienvenue.

It is for me a great privilege to welcome you on behalf of the International Association of Tamil Research and on behalf of the Collège de France, one of the first institutions where Tamil studies were started in Europe. We shall make clear later the aims of the International Association of Tamil Research and the traditional function of the Collège de France. For the moment, I declare the session open and I heartily welcome you.

எல்லோர்க்கும் நல்வரவு
Ellōrkkum nalvaravu

I now have pleasure in calling Dr. Adiseshiah to address you.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS DISCOURS D'OUVERTURE

MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH ACTING DIRECTOR-GENERAL UNESCO

TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS OF PHILOSOPHY AND ART — TAMIL

LA CULTURE TAMILE : VERS UNE SYNTHESE DE LA PHILOSOPHIE ET DE L'ART

Il m'est particulièrement agréable de m'adresser à vous en ce jour où s'ouvre le premier congrès international d'études tamiles qui ait jamais été organisé en Occident.

La session à laquelle il m'a été donné d'assister à Madras en 1968 apparaissait comme un témoignage de la vitalité actuelle de la culture tamile. Avec la présence des sages, détenteurs du savoir traditionnel, avec l'intense participation des masses, beaucoup d'entre vous ont pu constater sur place, comme je l'ai ressenti moi-même, l'enracinement profond de cette culture dans le peuple d'où elle est issue.

Madras et Paris

Après le retour aux sources, il y a deux ans, au cœur du Tamil Nadu, voici maintenant, avec cette session de Paris, l'expansion, le plein développement du dialogue international. La présence aujourd'hui de tant de savants venus de pays si divers, d'Europe et d'Amérique comme d'Asie, est la preuve, combien émouvante pour moi, de l'intérêt porté actuellement dans le monde à cette antique culture de l'Inde. La session de Madras était pour la culture tamile un symbole de permanence; celle de Paris apparaît comme un témoignage de son rayonnement.

Pour un tel témoignage, aucun lieu ne pouvait être mieux choisi que le Collège de France, établi depuis la Renaissance comme un foyer de libre recherche, selon la grande tradition humaniste, avide de comprendre la pensée humaine et d'en reconnaître la dignité sous toutes les formes de civilisation.

Vous êtes, Monsieur le Président, chez vous dans cette tradition d'humanisme comme vous êtes chez vous, à Pondichéry, dans l'Institut français d'études indiennes que vous animez depuis sa fondation en 1955. Et je sais bien que cette conférence internationale, organisée par vos soins, Monsieur le professeur

Filliozat, n'est qu'une manifestation parmi tant d'autres d'activités comprenant notamment d'innombrables travaux de recherche, moins spectaculaires peut-être mais fondamentaux, et une impressionnante série de publications, où la plus large part est faite aux cultures dravidiennes. Cette extension du champ des études indiennes et ce renouvellement des méthodes, qui se poursuit activement sous nos yeux, la présence ici même de tant de congressistes et la diversité des institutions représentées en donnent un témoignage impressionnant.

Comment expliquer cette évolution rapide des études orientales qui met aujourd'hui l'accent sur des civilisations jadis méconnues par les spécialistes ? Parmi les nombreuses causes des tendances nouvelles de la recherche, il m'apparaît qu'il en est de deux ordres : les unes sont liées à l'évolution même de la science, les autres tiennent aux transformations actuelles de la communauté mondiale et des relations internationales.

Evolution de la méthode scientifique tout d'abord : l'indianisme du XIXe siècle, dont il n'est pas question de contester l'immense apport dans le domaine de l'érudition, a été trop souvent dominé par le désir romantique de retrouver, à travers le sanskrit, l'image originaire des ancêtres indo-européens. Le titre d'Arya devait conférer leurs lettres de noblesse aux plus antiques peuplements de l'Europe. Il ne s'agissait pas tant alors de connaître l'Inde, dans sa réalité complexe, que de donner une dimension plus vaste à l'Antiquité gréco-latine. La philologie indienne devenait un prolongement des Belles-Lettres classiques. De même, dans leur souci de remonter aux origines indo-européennes, les chercheurs avaient tendance à privilégier les aspects archaïques. C'est précisément cette vision européo-centrique, archaïsante et teintée de nostalgie romantique qui se trouve abandonnée par la recherche actuelle. Il ne s'agit plus de regarder l'Inde de l'extérieur comme le miroir d'une Europe originaire, mais de la considérer telle qu'elle est dans sa réalité propre. D'où le mouvement actuel des chercheurs, surtout parmi les jeunes, vers les aspects authentiques, intérieurs, de l'Inde, dont la culture tamile est une des expressions les plus vivantes. Modifiant son objet, la science a donc renouvelé ses méthodes.

De plus, ce renouvellement dans l'approche scientifique coïncidait avec l'accession à l'indépendance de nombreux pays d'Asie, comme d'Afrique, et à une prise de conscience plus profonde par eux-mêmes de leur identité culturelle.

Ils ne se voulaient plus comme prétextes d'érudition ou simples objets d'études, mais comme sujets et partenaires de plein droit au dialogue entre toutes les cultures. Plus encore, la notion de pluralisme culturel vaut également pour les cultures diverses à l'intérieur d'un même Etat. En vérité, il n'y a plus de cultures minoritaires ou provinciales. Dans l'état actuel des connaissances,

des communications et des relations internationales, chacune des cultures est présente à toutes les autres. Chaque culture vaut, non par son particularisme, mais par ce qu'elle comporte d'universel et par sa capacité d'enrichir le patrimoine mondial. Or, il se trouve que la culture tamile a été caractérisée, par les spécialistes dont vous êtes, comme un humanisme, où la philosophie, le langage et l'expression artistique sont unifiés par les valeurs éthiques et s'intègrent pour devenir une morale, une règle de vie. D'où l'attrait non pas exotique et particulariste, mais général et humain que la culture tamile exerce sur ceux qui l'approchent.

Interdisciplinary Approach

There is still another trend in present research which may motivate a renewal of interest in Tamil studies, and this is the increasing trend towards interdisciplinary studies. While in the past the main tool for Indian studies was the classical discipline of philology, modern research approaches the subject from a variety of viewpoints, applying such disciplines as cultural anthropology, sociology, economics, archaeology, history of arts and literatures.

Such an interdisciplinary approach is most appropriate for the study of a civilization where philosophical and ethical values are closely related to artistic expression, to constitute a close-knit unity. This is eminently the case with Tamil civilization where the synthesis of carnatic music, dance and drama in Bharatanatyam and Kathakali, the image of the universe and the symbols of spiritual life embodied in the temples, the union of historical tradition, moral teachings and poetical achievements in the "Sangam" literature, to take only three examples, are standing witnesses of the Tamil inclination towards an integrated, organic view of life.

Such a style of civilization could be properly investigated and presented only with the recent development of interdisciplinary research. This interdisciplinary method appears in the very structure and composition of your International Association for Tamil Studies. It is also clearly expressed in the programme of your present conference.

Implantation of Centres

One of the points on your agenda also reflects another growing need in your field of studies : the need to implant centres and institutions for the study of a given culture within the region itself where this culture is still a living reality. There again we can discover a meeting point between the new trends in scienti-

fic research and a changing world situation. The times are gone when a culture could be studied from the remote quietness and seclusion of a well-equipped library. The demands of disciplines such as cultural anthropology and other social sciences, archaeology or musicology are for field research or direct contact with the human and physical environment. On the other hand, the deeper awareness of their cultural identity in newly independent or developing countries gives a greater incentive to their scholars to take an active part in the study and presentation of their own heritage. This gradually changes oriental studies into an experience in international co-operation, where analysis from outside and original evidence from within meet in a meaningful dialogue. The decision taken at your last session to assist in creating an International Institute for Tamil Studies to be established in Madras, and your intention to consider the statutes and research programmes for the Institute at your present session, stand as good examples of those creative trends in modern oriental studies.

The recognition of a necessity to consider oriental cultures, from inside and for their own sake ; a growing attention given not only to historical but also to contemporary themes ; the interdisciplinary approach ; the gradual implantation of research within the areas to be studied and the wider framework for international scholarly co-operation, such are then the main trends typified by your Association. But such are also the reasons and the objectives of Unesco interest and participation in your efforts.

A Resolution of Unesco

In fact, the resolution on Tamil studies adopted by the General Conference of Unesco at its last session, in November 1968, was primarily based upon recommendations and requests originating from your Conference, as stated in the opening paragraph of the text, which I shall now read to you :

"The General Conference

Taking note of the important conclusions for the promotion of cultural understanding and oriental scholarship reached at the Second International Conference-Seminar on Tamil Studies held in Madras on 3-10 January 1968,

Having received a report on the proposal arising from the conference for the creation of an International Institute of Tamil Studies ;

Authorizes the Director-General to assist India and other interested Member States in the creation of the above Institute in Madras, India ;

Invites the Member States to associate themselves in the creation and membership of the Institute, including the mutual assistance and Co-operation required."

The implementation of that Resolution started immediately after the General Conference. Direct aid was given as a first stage of co-operation, under an agreement with the Indian Government, for the purchase of books and equipment, to be used by the future Institute, and also for starting a scholarly programme, with the preparation of a new edition of the Tēvaram scripts. Simultaneously, promotional action was started, at international level, to enlist the co-operation of Member States and universities interested in Tamil studies. The action developed in three ways : co-ordination with such representative scholarly organizations as the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, to associate them in sponsoring Tamil studies ; a mission, undertaken in 1969 under a Unesco grant, by Mr. A. Subbiah, Member-Secretary of the Managing Committee, who visited fourteen countries and more than fifty universities and research institutes in Asia, Europe and America. The results of his liaison and information mission, which proved most successful, will be presented by himself in the course of this session. Finally, Unesco was called upon, by the French authorities and by the organizers of the present meeting, to assist in the preparation of this Third International Conference-Seminar on Tamil Studies.

Your deliberations and advice will be essential to launch the second phase of Unesco aid for the promotion of Tamil studies. In fact, the scholarly programme to be outlined here and your views on the scope and methods of work of the International Institute to be established in Madras, will be transmitted to the next session of the General Conference of Unesco which will meet in three months' time here in Paris, and your recommendations may well prove to be as effective in making the project operational as they were, two years ago, in launching the idea. Your advice will be especially helpful in suggesting priority studies corresponding to the present trends and needs of international research.

An indication of such trends and needs may already be found in the agenda of your discussions and I would like to present a few remarks on the topics which the organizers of the Conference selected as being the most appropriate for a debate on Tamil culture, in the present situation of oriental studies. Allow me, in doing so, to use my own Tamil language. I am sure that you will understand my pride and emotion in seeing it recognized here, in this place which embodies the highest traditions of Western thought.

மொழி வளர்க்கும் சங்கம்

இந்த மாநாட்டிலே முதற்கண் கவனம் செலுத்தப்படும் பொருட்களில் தமிழ் மொழி, இலக்கியம் இவை இடம் பெற்றிருப்பது மிகப் பொருத்தமாகும். இரண்டாயிரம் ஆண்டுகளுக்கும் மேலாக அழியாமல், குறையாமல் நிலைத்திருக்கும் தமிழ் மொழியே தமிழ்மக்களின் இடையருத தொடர்ச்சிக்குப் பெரிதும் காரணமாகும். கற்றோர் கவனத்தைக் கவர்ந்த மற்றொரு தனிச்சிறப்பும் இம்மொழிக்கு உண்டு ; இது சமுதாயத்தின் சிறப்பு மொழியாக, மதம், கல்வி போன்ற துறைகளுக்கு மட்டும் பயன்படவில்லை ; மக்களின் அன்றுட வாழ்வோடு இரண்டறக் கலந்து ஜீவசக்தியுடன் இன்றும் விளங்குகிறது.

தமிழ்ப்பெருமக்களின் நாகரிகத்தில் இரு விசேஷ இயல்புகள் உண்டு. இவையே அவர்கள் மொழிப் பற்றுக்கு காரணம் கூறுகின்றன. ஒன்று, சங்கம் நிறுவியது ; அன்று உருவான இலக்கியங்கள் சங்க இலக்கியங்களென்றே கூறப்பட்டன. மற்றொன்று, தொல்காப்பியம் போன்ற விரிவான, நுட்பமான இலக்கண நூல்கள் அக்காலத்திலேயே வழக்கிலிருந்தது. இவ்வாறு ஒரு கலாசாரத்தின் தொடர்ச்சிக்கு மிக சக்தி வாய்ந்த சாதனங்களான இரண்டு அம்சங்களும் — அதாவது மொழி வளர்க்கும் சங்கங்களும், அந்த வளர்ச்சி முறையோடு அமைவதற்கான இலக்கணங்களும் — தொன்மையான தமிழ் சரித்திரத்தின் ஆரம்ப ஏடுகளிலேயே ஆழமாகப் பதிந்துவிட்டன.

அழகுக் கலைகள்

இருப்பினும், இந்த உலகத் தமிழ் மாநாடு சொல்லையும், எழுத்தையும் மாத்திரம் முக்கியமாகக் கருதவில்லை. தென்னிந்திய கலாசாரத்தின் சின்னங்களான நிர்மாணக்கலை, மற்றும் சிற்பம், சித்திரம் போன்ற எழில் கலைகளும் இங்கு தகுந்த இடம் பெறுகின்றன. பல துறையினர் கூடி நடத்தும் இம்மாநாட்டின் பிரிவுகளில் முதல் முறையாக புதைபொருள் ஆராய்ச்சிக்கும் முக்கிய இடம் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. பழங்குடி மக்களான திராவிடர்களின் நாகரிகமே இந்திய உபகண்டத்தின் நாகரிகத்திற்கு முன்னோடி என்பது ஆராய்ச்சியாளர் கருத்து. சிந்து நதி பள்ளத்தாக்கில் அகழ்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட புதைபொருள் சின்னங்கள் இக்கருத்துக்கு புதிய ஆதரவு அளித்தன. பிறகு, (கம்போடியா நாட்டில்) கிமர் கட்டிடக்கலையில், அண்டத்தின் சின்னமாகக் கருதப்படும் மலை வடிவக் கோயில்களைக் காண்கிறோம். சிந்து நதியிலிருந்து கம்போடியாவரை — அதற்கும் அப்பால் போரோபுதூர் வரை — தமிழ் கலாசாரம் விரிந்து, பரந்து, காலத்தால் கரையாது விளங்கியதற்குச் சான்றுக, பல சின்னங்கள் வரிசை வரிசையாக அணிவகுத்து நிற்கின்றன. ஸ்ரீரங்கம் ரங்கநாதர் ஆலயம், ராமேஸ்வரம் கோயில் முதற் கொண்டு பல தென்னிந்திய கலைச் சின்னங்களைப் பாதுகாக்கும் நீண்டகாலத் திட்டத்தில் யுனெஸ்கோ ஸ்தாபனம் ஒத்துழைக்கிறது.

இத்துறையிலும் நிர்மாணக்கலை பற்றிய பல தொன்மையான நூல்கள் சிற்ப சாத்திரத்துள் அடங்கியுள்ளன ; இவை மானஸாரா, மயமதா போன்று ஆகமநூல்களைச் சேர்ந்தவை. தமிழரின் கோயில் கட்டும் கலை பற்றியும், அவர்கள் கையாண்ட நகர அமைப்பு பற்றியும், இவற்றிலிருந்து இன்றைய மாணவன் அறிந்துகொள்ளலாம்.

இதே ஆன்மீக உட்பொருளையே சிற்பக் கலையிலும், மற்றும் அதை மருவிய கலை

களிலும் காண்கிறோம். சைவத்தைத் தழுவிய பல மஹாபுருஷர்கள் எவ்வுயிர்க்கும் பொதுவான பரம்பொருளைப்பற்றித் தங்கள் உணர்ச்சிகளை, கவிதை வடிவிலே அளித்திருக்கிறார்கள். இதற்கு இணையாக தென்னிந்திய வெண்கலச் சிற்பங்களில் பெரிதும் காணப்படும் நடராஜர் சிற்பம், மனித குலத்தின் மாபெரும் கலைச்சின்னங்களில் ஒன்றுகவே அமைந்துவிட்டது. இது, சிவபெருமானின் மற்றொரு வடிவமாகும் அந்த ஆடலரசன் உருவத்திலே உயிரும் உயிரின்மையும் ஒன்றே — ரூபமும் அரூபமும் ஒன்றே — அமைதியும் அசைவும் ஒன்றே. அந்த ஆனந்த தாண்டவத்தில் உடலும் ஆவியும் இரண்டறக் கலந்துவிட்டது என்கிறார் ஆனந்த குமாரஸ்வாமி. இவர் இலங்கையைச் சேர்ந்த புகழ்பெற்ற சரித்திர ஆசிரியரும் கலாவிமர்சகரும் ஆவார். . . எலியட்டின் கவிதையிலே நான் நடராஜப் பெருமானின் இதே வடிவைக் காண்கிறேன். அதன் பொழிப்புரை பின்வருமாறு : —

> " சுழல்கின்ற உலகத்தில் சுழலாத ஒரு இடம்.
> ஊனுமில்லை, ஊன் இல்லாமலுமில்லை ;
> அதிலிருந்துமில்லை, அதை நோக்கியுமில்லை ;
> அந்த அசைவற்ற இடத்தில் நடனமுண்டு,
> ஆனால், அங்குத் தடையுமில்லை அசைவுமில்லை.
> அதை நிலையானது என்று நினைக்க வேண்டாம்,
> இறந்த காலமும் வருங்காலமும்
> ஒருங்கே இணைந்து சேரும் இடத்தில். . . . . .
> அந்த அசைவற்ற இடத்தைத் தவிர,
> நடனமே இல்லை, நடனம் மட்டுமே உண்டு."

ஆன்மீக அறிவுடை நிலைக்கும், நன்னெறியில் அமையும் வாழ்க்கை அநுபவத்திற்கும் உள்ள நெருங்கிய தொடர்பு, தமிழ் கலாசாரத்தின் அடிப்படைப் பண்பாடு என்பது பலரும் அறிந்த உண்மை. உலக சக்தியையும், வாழ்க்கையில் உறுதியான தன்னம்பிக்கையையும் குறளிலே கண்டார் டாக்டர் ஆல்பர்ட் ஸ்வெட்ஜர். இலக்கியம், தத்துவம் இவற்றில் தனிச் சிறப்புடன் விளங்கும் இந்தப் புராதன நூல், எளிய நீதி நெறியின் வழியே இயங்கும் மனித இனத்தையே இலட்சியமாகச் சித்தரிக்கிறது என்று அவர் கூறுகிறார்.

பற்பல ஆராய்ச்சித் துறைகள்

இந்திய நாகரிகத்தில் தமிழ் மக்களின் பங்கும் இந்த மாநாட்டில் விவாதிக்கப் படும். குறிப்பாக ஸமஸ்கிருத மொழியோடு இதன் தொடர்பும் ஆராயப்படும். இது வரை திராவிடர்களைப்பற்றிய ஆராய்ச்சி அதிகம் கவனிக்கப்படாமல் இருந்தது. இன்று, பெரும்பாலும் இதை இணைத்தே ஸமஸ்கிருத மொழி ஆராய்ச்சியை புதுபிக்கமுடியுமென்று அம்மொழிப் பண்டிதர்களே உறுதியாகக் கூறுகிறார்கள். உங்கள் சொற்பொழிவுகளும், விவாதங்களும் இப்பொருள் பற்றிப் புதிய கருத்துக்களை அளிக்கும் என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை.

இருப்பினும், தமிழ்க் கலாசாரத்தின் தனிச் சிறப்புகளைப் பற்றியோ, அல்லது பொதுவாக அது இந்திய கலாசாரத்தின் ஒரு அங்கம் என்பது பற்றியோ ஆராய்வதோடு இந்த மாநாட்டின் நோக்கம் முழுமை பெறுது. வெளிநாடுகளுடன் தமிழ்

நாடும், தமிழ் மக்களும் கொண்டிருந்த உறவு இங்கு விவாதத்துக்குரிய மிக முக்கியமான பொருள்களாகும். தமிழாராய்ச்சி என்பது உண்மையாகவே ஒரு சர்வதேச ஆராய்ச்சி என்பதற்குப் பல சான்றுகள் உண்டு. அவற்றில் சில :

1. தமிழர் நாகரிகம் கடல் கடந்து, இந்தோனேஷியா, மலேஷியா, பிலிப்பைன்ஸ் முதலிய தென்கிழக்கு ஆசிய நாடுகளுக்குப் பரவியது.

2. சீன தேசத்தில் புதைபொருள் ஆராய்ச்சி ஸ்தாபனங்களில் கண்டுபிடிக்கப்பட்ட தமிழ்க் கல்வெட்டுகள்.

3. பர்மா, கம்போடியா, தாய்லாந்து நாடுகளில் நடைமுறையில் காணப்படும் விழாக்கள், சடங்குகள்.

4. இந்தியப் பெருங்கடல் மூலம் நடத்தப்பட்ட வாணிபத்தைப் பற்றிய ஆராய்ச்சி, கிழக்கு ஆப்பிரிக்காவின் சரித்திரத்திற்கான மூலாதாரங்களில் ஒன்றுக இருத்தல்.

விரிந்து பரந்த இந்த ஆதிக்கத்திற்கு ஒரு தனிச் சிறப்பு உண்டு. அது, அதன் பூரண இயல்பு ஆகும். அநேகமாக சரித்திரத்தில் வேறு எந்த நாகரிகமும் கத்தியின்றி, ரத்தமின்றி, முழுமையும் வாணிபம், கலாசாரம் இவை மூலமாகவே, தனது செல்வாக்கை இவ்வளவு தூரம் பரப்பியதில்லை. ஆங்காங்கு உள்ள பண்பாடுகளோடு நன்கு ஒன்றி இணைந்தது. மனம் திறந்து நிறைந்த இந்த ஸர்வதேசத் தொடர்பின் அஸ்திவாரம், கடல் கடந்த வாணிபம் மாத்திரமல்ல — தமிழனின் ஆழ்ந்த இதய பூர்வமான மனிதாபிமானம் என்றே கூறவேண்டும். இதையே ஒரு தமிழ்ப் புலவர் " யாதும் ஊரே யாவரும் கேளீர் " என்று கூறுகிறார்.

அகில உலகத்திற்கும் பொதுவான இந்தப் பண்பாடு, இன்றைய ஸர்வதேச கலாசாரத் தொடர்புகளினுல் புத்துயிர் பெறலாம். நீங்கள் தொன்மையான பழம் பெரும் இலக்கியம், பண்பாடுகள் இவற்றை ஆராய்வதோடு, இன்றைய தமிழ் இலக்கியம், கலாசார வளர்ச்சி இவற்றையும் ஆராயப்போவது இந்த மாநாட்டின் மிக முக்கியமான அம்சமென்று நான் கருதுகிறேன். தமிழாராய்ச்சி பூரண உயிர்த்துடிப்புள்ள ஒரு கலாசாரத்தோடு சம்பந்தப்பட்டது. அது கேவலம் மொழி அல்லது சரித்திர ஆராய்ச்சியாக மட்டும் இருந்துவிடக் கூடாது. இந்த ஆராய்ச்சி இன்று, நல்லதொரு கலாசாரத்தின் நறுமணத்தை உலகெங்கும் பரப்புவதற்குரிய சாதனமாகத் தமிழை உயர்த்தவேண்டும். இதுவே நமது குறிக்கோளென்று நான் நினைக்கிறேன்.

Various fields of Research

It was appropriate to place Tamil language and literature among the first points to be considered at this Conference. In fact, the very continuity of the Tamil people is largely due to the permanence of its language, over two thousand years. And the unique feature, often noted by the specialists, is that Tamil was not only preserved, as a classical language to be used for religious or academic purposes, but has also remained in popular use as a living medium of daily intercourse.

The attachment of the Tamils to their language has been expressed by two

distinctive features of their civilization : the institution of academies, from which the "Sangam" literature derives its name, and the importance, within that ancient literature, of highly elaborate and technical grammatical works, such as *Tolkāppiyam*. Thereby, two of the most powerful means for the continuity of a culture, which in many civilizations appeared at a later stage of their development, academies of language and descriptive grammars, stand firmly established at the earliest recorded period of Tamil history.

However, this International Tamil Conference does not only recognize the importance of the spoken and written word but also gives its due place to architecture and plastic arts as an expression of South Indian culture. For the first time perhaps in an interdisciplinary conference on Tamil studies, an important place is reserved for archaeology. From the earliest archaeological sites in the Indus Valley, which gave new support to the theory of a proto-Dravidian civilization as being the earliest, original, civilization of the Indian continent up to the mount-shaped temples, a symbol of the universe, which is later to be found in Khmer architecture and as far as Borobudur, a long series of monuments stand up now as witnesses to the continuity and also the diffusion of Tamil culture. Unesco is co-operating in a long-term programme for the preservation of South Indian momuments, starting with Sri Ranganathaswami Temple at Srirangam and the Rameshwaram Temple.

There, again, theoretical texts, ancient treatises of architecture embodied in the *Śilpaśāstra*, belong, like the *Mānasāra* and the *Mayamata*, to the *Āgama* scripts, and they are available to the modern scholar, to disclose the meanings of Tamil temple building and even city-planning.

The same spiritual message is also to be found in sculpture and in the applied arts. Parallel to the deep mystical feeling expressed by the Shivaite poet-saints, the image of Śiva Naṭarāja, so frequent in South Indian bronzes, has become one of the great artistic symbols of mankind. There, life and stillness, form and fluidity, peace and movement, are one ; and the great historian and critic from Ceylon, Ānanda Coomaraswamy, could well say that in such sculpture "flesh and spirit are inseparable". The same image of Naṭarāja is evoked for me in T.S. Eliot's verse :

> "At the still point of the turning world. Neither flesh nor
> fleshless ; Neither from nor towards ; at the still point,
> there the dance is, But neither arrest nor movement. And
> do not call it fixity, Where past and future are gathered ....
> Except for the point, the still point, There would be no
> dance, and there is only the dance."

The intimate link between spiritual awareness and the concrete experience of daily life, as expressed in the ethical teachings, has been considered by many as a fundamental characteristic of Tamil culture. Dr. Albert Schweitzer, after noting the "strength of the world and life affirmation present in the *KuRaḷ*", concludes that this essential classic of Tamil literature and philosophy "draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity".

The contribution of the Tamil people to Indian civilization as a whole is also to be part of the discussions at this Conference. It will be considered especially in relation to Sanskrit. The possibilities of renewing the field of Sanskrit studies from within by taking more largely into account the Dravidian elements, long neglected by academic research, have been strongly expressed by Sanskrit scholars themselves, and your communications and debates will no doubt bring new evidence to that point.

However, the study of Tamil culture in its individual features or as a dimension of Indian culture in general are not the only aspects to be covered by the Conference. There is still a third dimension, of considerable importance, suggested by the further points for discussion ; exterior relations of the Tamil country and Tamils overseas. The diffusion of the Tamils, as an essentially maritime civilization, to South East Asia, as far as Indonesia and Malaysia, and the Philippines, the Tamil inscriptions discovered on Chinese archaeological sites, ceremonials and rituals in Burma, Cambodia, Thailand, the fact that research on the trade relations through the Indian Ocean is among the sources of East African history, these and many other examples establish Tamil studies as international studies.

The most striking aspect of this expansion is no doubt its peaceful character. Hardly any other civilization in history carried its influence so far by purely commercial and cultural channels, through readily accepted settlements integrating it with the traditions of the host country. This openness to international contacts, based upon a maritime and commercial civilization but, above all, inspired by a deeply humanistic tradition of thought, is enshrined in the *PuRam* famed words : "Every country is my country ; every man is my kinsman."

This tradition of universality may now find a renewed expression in modern international cultural relations. And I consider it as the most promising aspect of your Conference that you have decided to study contemporary Tamil literature as well as classical literature, present cultural developments alongside with classical tradition. Thereby you recognize that Tamil studies, bearing upon a living culture, should not only be a field for philological or historical knowledge, but should also contribute in promoting Tamil values as a cultural vehicle for the present.

Conclusion

Monsieur le Président, me tenant à vos côtés il y a deux ans à Madras, sur la plage de Marina, ouverte à tous les vents, et inaugurant la Deuxième Conférence internationale des Etudes tamiles, devant un demi-million de Tamils, savants et gens du peuple mêlés, je lançais un appel :

"As a Unescan, I have one small quarrel with orientalists — be they Africanists, Sinologists, Indologists or Tamilologists — to use a felicitous phrase — their predominant and seemingly exclusive interest in the hoary past of the language and culture in question. But as the statues unveiled yesterday bring home, Tamil is a language which has continuous links from two thousand years ago (Avvaiyar and Valluvar) to yesterday (Pope and Bharathidasan), and on to today — there is one statue in the centre of the city to remind us of this. Tamil research must therefore deal not only with the Sangam epoch, but also with the Annadurai period, not only with the Madurai movement, but also with the Malaysia and Mombasa versions. It must deal with the glorious past and also with the crying and living present."

Je sais bien aujourd'hui que je n'ai pas besoin de renouveler cet appel. Il a été entendu. Il est dans la nature même des choses. Les tendances nouvelles, les développements les plus récents, au cours même de ces deux dernières années, dans les études tamiles, et votre propre conception de cette conférence établissent un équilibre entre le présent et le passé. La recherche historique apparaît comme un moyen d'éclairer la compréhension d'une civilisation, d'une pensée, qui sont réels et vécus intensément aujourd'hui même. Aussi bien par vos travaux, par votre volonté de faire progresser la recherche scientifique et de renforcer la coopération culturelle, vous faites partie vous-mêmes de la réalité internationale telle qu'elle est vécue de nos jours, et vous contribuez à faire vivre l'Unesco. C'est dans cet esprit que je vous salue et que je vous présente les vœux de mon Organisation pour la pleine réussite de votre conférence.

ADDRESS — M. KARUNANIDHI

Chief Minister,

Tamil Nadu, India

எனது சொந்த விழியினும் மேலாகத் தமிழ் மொழியை மதிக்கிறேன் என்ற உணர்வோடு, இந்த மாநாட்டை நான் வரவேற்கிறேன். அப்படிப்பட்ட இந்த மாநாட்டில் பங்கு கொள்ளும் வாய்ப்புக் கிடைத்தமைக்கு மகிழ்கிறேன்.

பிரஞ்சுப் பண்பாடானது தமிழ் நாட்டில் தனது செல்வாக்கை ஊடுருவிப் பரவ விட்டதாகச் சொல்லமுடியாது என்ற போதிலும், கடந்த நூற்றுண்டுகளில் தமிழர் களுக்கும், தமிழ் நாட்டுக்கும் பிரஞ்சுப் பண்பாடு அறிமுகமானது என்பதை இந்த அனைத்துலக மாநாடு அறிவுறுத்துகிறது.

தமிழின் வளர்ச்சியில் பிரான்ஸ் கொண்டுள்ள ஆழ்ந்த நாட்டம், தமிழ்-பிரெஞ்சு அகராதி ஒன்றை வெளியிட்டதன் மூலம் காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது.

அண்மையில், சின்னட்களுக்கு முன் வெர்சேல்சுக்குச் சென்றிருந்தேன். அங்கே, பிரான்ஸ்-தமிழக உறவுகளைக் காட்டும் பொருள்களைக் காண விரும்பினேன்.

இந்தியாவுக்கு டுப்ளே எடுத்துச்செல்ல விரும்பியதும், ஆனல் மாறிவிட்ட சூழ் நிலையால் அவ்வாறு எடுத்துச்செல்ல முடியாமற் போனதுமான ஒரு கடிகாரத்தை எனக்குக் காட்டினர்கள். காலம் மாறிவிட்டது. எனவே அந்தக் கடிகாரம் வெர்சேல்சி லேயே இருக்கிறது.

பாரி நகர்

நான் சில நாட்களுக்கு முன்னர் பாரிசுக்கு வந்திருந்தபோது, இங்குள்ள இந்திய மாணவர்கள் என்னை ஒரு விருந்துக்கு அழைத்திருந்தனர்.

அந்த மாணவர்களிலே ஒருவர், பாரிஸ் நகரை ஏதோ பழந்தமிழ்ப் பெருவீரன் பாரியினுடையது என்பதுபோல் "பாரி நகர்" என்று குறிப்பிட்டார்.

தமிழ் நாட்டிலிருந்து அங்கு வந்துள்ள தூதுக் குழுவில் பதினெட்டுப்பேர் உள்ள னர். ஆனல், அவர்கள் நான்கு கோடித் தமிழர்களின் பிரதிநிதிகள்.

தமிழ் பரவியுள்ளது. தமிழர்கள் உலகெங்கும் சென்றுள்ளார்கள். ஆனல், தமிழ் மொழி — உதாரணமாக மொரீஷியஸ் தீவில் மறைந்துவருகிறது. இன்னும் வேறு சில நாடுகளிலுள்ள தமிழர்களும், தம் தாய் மொழியை மறந்துவிடக்கூடிய அபா யத்திலுள்ளனர்.

இந்த மாதிரியான நிலைமை தொடர்ந்து நிலவ அனுமதிக்கப்படக் கூடாது.

தமிழர்கள் வாழ்கின்ற நாடுகளிலெல்லாம், தமிழைக் கற்பதற்கான வாய்ப்பும் தமிழனேடு தொடர்ந்து தொடர்பு வைத்துக்கொள்வதற்கான வாய்ப்பும் வகை செய்யப்பட வேண்டும்.

மொழிப் பிரச்னை மீது கவனம் செலுத்துவது தவறே குற்றமோ ஆகாது என் பதை, அண்மையில் நான் பல்வேறு ஐரோப்பிய நாடுகளைச் சுற்றிப் பார்த்தபோது கண்டேன்.

ஸ்விட்சர்லாந்து, இத்தாலி போன்ற நாடுகளில் தாய்மொழிப் பிரச்னை பிற தேசி

யப் பிரச்னைகள் எதற்கும் குறையாத இடத்தைப் பெற்றுள்ளன.

வரலாற்று சகாப்த காலம் தொட்டு ஆழ்ந்த புலமை பெற்ற மொழியாகும் தமிழ். அது ஒரு செழுமிய மொழி. பாரதி போன்ற கவிஞர்கள் அதன் மகிமையைப் பாடியிருக்கிறார்கள்.

ஆனால், அந்த முதுமையும் தற்போதைய வளர்ச்சியும் மட்டுமே போதாது. நாம் வெறுமனே பழைய மகிமையில் ஒய்ந்திருக்கக் கூடாது.

சிந்தனைகளை உணர்த்தவும் விஞ்ஞான வளமிக்க — விண்வெளிப் பயணம் நடத்துகிற நவீன காலத்தின் செய்திகளைத் தெரிவிப்பதற்கும் ஏற்ற கருவியாய் வாகனமாய்த் தமிழ் மாறவேண்டும் என்பதனை நாம் உணரவேண்டும். தொழில் நுணுக்கம் அறிவியல், மருத்துவம் முதலியவற்றைக் கற்பிப்பதற்கு ஏற்ற பயிற்று மொழியாய் இது வந்தாக வேண்டும்.

தமிழ் வளர்வதற்காக, தமிழ் நாட்டுக்கும் பிற நாடுகளுக்கும் இடையே மாணவர்களைப் பரிமாறிக்கொள்வது அத்தியாவசியமாகும். இதனால், மொழிகளின் தொடர்பால் தமிழ் செழுமைப்படுத்தப்படலாம்.

ஆங்கில-தமிழ் நவீன அகராதி ஒன்றை அபிவிருத்தி செய்தலும் அத்தியாவசியமாகும். இந்த அகராதி திறமையானதாய் அமைய மூன்று லட்சம் சொற்களுக்குப் பதில் குறைந்த பட்சம் ஆறு லட்சம் சொற்களேனும் இடம் பெற வேண்டும். அப்போதுதான் தமிழ் உண்மையான ஒரு நவீன மொழியாகமுடியும்.

இங்கே, நீங்கள் தமிழ் நாட்டுத் தூதுக்குழுவினரைப் பார்க்கிறீர்கள். அவர்கள், மருத்துவ மனைக்குத் தன் குழந்தையை எடுத்து வந்திருக்கிற ஆசையான பெருமிதமான தாயைப் போன்றவர்கள்.

அனுபவம் வாய்ந்த மருத்துவ நிபுணர்களையும் அறுவைச் சிகிச்சை நிபுணர்களையும் போன்றவர்கள் இங்கே கூடியுள்ள தமிழறிஞர்கள். அவர்கள், குழந்தைக்கு (தமிழுக்கு) முழு ஆரோக்கியத்தையும் தர முயல்கிறார்கள்.

இப்படிப்பட்ட கடுமையான அறுவைச் சிகிச்சைகளுக்கெல்லாம் குழந்தை இரையாகலாமா ? என்று எண்ணி, அந்தச் சிகிச்சையைத் தடுக்கக்கூடாது தாய். அது, தாய்மை அன்பைக் காட்டுவதாகாது.

அதேபோல், அறுவைச் சிகிச்சைக்காரர்களும் கண்டபடி தம் கத்தியை ஓட்டக் கூடாது.

தமிழ் வல்லுநர்களும், ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்களும் ஆராய்ச்சி செய்துவிட்டு அத்தோடு தம் பணி முடிந்ததென்று எண்ணிவிடக் கூடாது.

மூன்று பணிகள்

இந்த மாநாடு மூன்று பணிகள் மீது கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டும்.

முதலாவதாக, தமிழ்நாட்டுக்கும் பிற நாடுகளுக்குமிடையே மாணவர்கள் பரிவர்த்தனைக்கு ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும்.

இரண்டாவதாக, தமிழை ஒரு நவீன மொழியாக்கும் வண்ணம் ஆங்கிலம்-தமிழ் அகராதியைத் தயாரிக்கும் பணியிலிறங்க வேண்டும்.

மூன்றுவதாக, உலகின் பல்வேறு நாடுகளிலும் தமிழைப் பரப்பவும் வளர்க்கவும் வேண்டும்.

இந்தப் பணிகளில் மறைந்த அண்ணாவின் அடியொற்றி நடக்கும் எமது தமிழ் நாட்டு அரசு இயன்ற எல்லா உதவிகளையும் செய்யும்.

ADDRESS — TIRU K.A. MATHIALAGAN,

Minister of Finance and Planning,

Tamil Nadu, India

Let me first of all greet you in the Tamilian style '*Vaṇakkam*'. I am very happy to be present here today representing the land of the Tamils in this Third Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies in this ancient and historic city of Paris where over 200 scholars have assembled from various countries and universities to honour Tamil studies.

Our revered Chief Minister who is himself a scholar in fine arts and literature, in his own inimitable way, gave the background of Tamil culture and civilization, in his address.

Greetings

Now it is my pleasant duty as the Leader of the Tamil Nadu Delegation to greet the learned delegates from all over the world in the name of Tamil and on behalf of the Government of Tamil Nadu and the 40 million Tamil brethren of our country. It is indeed very kind of our Chief Minister to have broken his arranged schedule and to have flown to Paris from London, to be with us today despite Doctors' advice. This only shows his great interest in Tamil studies.

The first International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies which was held in Malaysia in 1966 as organised by the International Association of Tamil Research gave the spark and necessary inspiration to Tamil Studies. The Second Conference that was held in Madras in 1968, which was presided over by the late Arignar Anna, the illustrious then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, and inaugurated by the then President of India Dr. Zakir Hussain was a milestone in the annals of Tamilogy.

The present Conference is the Third of the series, so successfully organised by the International Association of Tamil Research. It is unique in this respect that it is the first time that a Conference in Tamil Studies is being organised in a non-Tamil speaking country. It is but fitting that France which has proclaimed to the modern world the doctrines of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity should play host to a Conference devoted to the study of Tamil Culture which is built upon similar foundations of Universality of human brotherhood. It is a Tamil

poet who sang several hundreds of years ago "Every country is my country and every man my kinsman."

யாதும் ஊரே, யாவரும் கேளிர்

The great tradition of the Tamil language and culture began with the Sangam literature over 2000 years ago and the first Sangam could very well be called the world's oldest literary academy. The pioneering work now undertaken by the International Association of Tamil Research is but a continuation of this literary tradition, if I may say so. We should all be grateful to the scholars who organised the International Association of Tamil Research.

It is my duty on behalf of the Tamil speaking and Tamil loving people throughout the world, to thank Professor Filliozat for organizing this Conference in Paris. His contributions to Indological and Dravidian studies from Paris and Pondicherry are too well-known to need any further elaboration.

The reason for holding this Conference in Paris is to emphasize the links of Tamil with the West, as well as to acquaint the European scholars with the latest developments in the field of Tamil studies. Tamil, as you all know, is a very ancient language with a very rich literature. It is spoken today by over one hundred million people and geographically it is the most widespread of the Indian languages. It enjoys official or semi-official status in India, Ceylon, Malaysia, Mauritius, Singapore, Fiji, and S. Africa. I am sure this Conference, that is being held in the capital city of France, will also rightly recall to the French brethren the great ties they had with the Tamils over the centuries and the contribution the French scholars have made to Tamil studies, especially the work of the French Missionaries who did yeoman service in South India.

The Second International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies held at Madras in 1968 paved the way for starting three Professorial chairs in Madras, Annamalai and Madurai Universities to do research in "*TirukkuRaḷ*". Tiruvalluvar as you all know is the greatest of Tamil poets and thinkers, and he lived two thousand years ago. He gave us his monumental work '*TirukkuRaḷ*', which is of perennial interest to the nations of the world. This work has been translated in several important languages of the world. Close students of *TirukkuRal* like Dr. Pope, Mr. Ellis and Reverend Popley have paid glowing tributes to the author and have stated that "*TirukkuRaḷ*" is the beacon light for all humanity. Recent scholars like Dr. Albert Schweitzer have acclaimed '*TirukkuRaḷ*' as a marvellous treatise on ethics which, while laying emphasis on self affirmation instead of self negation, shows to the world at large, how people should love one another, revere one another and understand one another. On the foundations

of understanding, tolerance, love and reverence for life alone, the glorious edifice of the unity of mankind could be erected. Tiruvaḷḷuvar has thus done a great deal to pave the way for universal brotherhood and peace.

I am sure, as a signal contribution of this Third Conference in Paris, we will be able to finalise the proposals for the establishment of an International Institute of Tamil Studies in Madras, Tamil Nadu, to internationalise Tamil Studies and promote higher research. Our late Revered Arignar Anna was very enthusiastic in welcoming this proposal when it was suggested during the Second International Conference at Madras. We are very grateful to the UNESCO and its member states for their support to this scheme. We are proud of Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah's great contributions towards international co-operation. He is a great Tamilian in every sense of the word.

I have no doubt in my mind, that as a result of the deliberations of this Conference, this Institute will soon become a flourishing centre for higher learning and research in Tamil language and culture and will play its part in bringing about greater understanding and closer co-operation amongst the participating countries.

The Government of Tamil Nadu with Honourable Kalaignar Karunanidhi as the Head of the State, is ever prepared to extend its co-operation to such laudable ventures. We are justifiably proud that the present Government of Tamil Nadu has given order, stable administration and peace to the people there and has created a climate wherein Tamil has been restored to its original pristine glory and schemes developed to make it grow from strength to strength.

REPORT

TIRU A. SUBBIAH

Prof. Filliozat, Dr. Adiseshiah, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my pleasant privilege — as the Convenor of the Second International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies held at Madras in January 1968 — to report to you on that Conference and its most important sequel.

As many of you who participated at the Conference are aware, it proved to be a landmark in the great renaissance which is now taking place in the language and culture of the Tamil speaking peoples living in different parts of the world. Apart from the Tamil speaking participants who hailed from Ceylon, Fiji, Malaysia, Mauritius, Singapore and India numbering about 350, non-Tamil speaking scholars from over 30 countries and numbering 150 attended the Conference from far flung regions like Russia, Japan and Australia in the East and South America, U.S.A. and Canada in the West. The success of the Conference must in the main be attributed to the sympathetic guidance of the Hon'ble Thiru Nedunchezhiyan, Minister for Education, Government of Tamil Nadu and to indefatigable efforts of Mr. V. S. Tyagarajan, the Secretary General and Treasurer of the Conference who is here with us today and the late Mr. T. S. Narayanaswami, Chairman of the Hospitality Committee.

The Papers read at the Conference covered almost every aspect of Tamil studies and the Proceedings when published will, I am sure, form valuable reference work for researchers in Indology in general and Tamilology or Dravidology in particular. The Proceedings are in the final stages of proof-reading and I wish to take this opportunity to publicly express our gratitude to Dr. Asher of the University of Edinburgh for having, patiently and single-handed, shouldered the strenuous burden of editing and seeing the proceedings through the Press. Dr. Asher informs me that he would be able to complete the proof-reading in a few weeks and the printed copies are expected to be released in two or three months.

Two important adjuncts to the Conference were,

Firstly the daily programmes arranged in the evenings in the form of Tamil musical concerts, Tamil Dances and Dance Dramas by the most talented artists of Tamil Nadu, which were so organized as to bring out the best in the way of music, dance and drama amongst the Tamils.

Secondly the seven day cultural tour by a specially chartered train to all the

important cultural centres of Tamil Nadu beginning from Madras right down south to KaNNiyākumari (hitherto known as Cape Comorin), the extreme southern tip of Tamil Nadu and India, where the three seas — the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea meet. This enabled the foreign delegates to the Conference to see all the richness, vitality and variety of Tamil Culture, which is still part of the Tamil way of life today as it had been in the past two thousand years of its recorded history.

Another important feature was that the Government of Tamil Nadu — under the dynamic inspiration of the late Chief Minister Tiru Annadurai and the then Public Works Minister Tiru Karunanidhi, who is now happily with us here as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu — organized more or less parallel shows by way of lectures, exhibitions and spectacular processions, intended to cater to the emotional expectations of more than a million people who flooded the city of Madras at the time of the Conference.

The most important sequel to the Conference is the establishment of the International Institute of Tamil Studies, as already referred to by Dr. Adiseshiah. As the participants at the Madras Conference are aware, a paper was read at the concluding Plenary Session by Dr. Katre, the Director of the Deccan College Research Institute at Poona, making a strong plea for the establishment of an International Institute of Tamil Studies. There was a consensus at the Conference in its favour and the plea was strongly reinforced by assurances of support from the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and by representatives of the three Tamil Nadu universities. Later a detailed project was drafted by a Committee of experts and was submitted to the UNESCO at its General Conference in November 1968 when — at the instance of the Government of India — the UNESCO unanimously passed a resolution authorizing the Director General to assist in the creation of the Institute and inviting the member States to associate themselves in the creation, including the mutual assistance and co-operation required.

Follow-up measures were taken forthwith and, under a travel grant given by UNESCO, I undertook an extensive visiting mission to about fifty universities situated in different parts of the world. To my great pleasure, I found that, following the developments during the past four or five decades in the field of Dravidology — and particularly in the study of which is now termed as the Indus Valley Culture of the Third Millenium B.C. (I see that three scholars who are deeply involved in the study viz., Dr. Asko Parpola, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil and Mr. Iravatham Mahadevan are present here to present papers on the subject), there is a growing and keen desire everywhere to develop Tamil studies. Academicians round the world welcomed the establishment of the International

Institute of Tamil Studies, as it would remove the many handicaps which stand in the way of a rapid development of these studies.

As was only to be expected, the Government of Tamil Nadu is extending full support to the Institute and the International Association of Tamil Research is most grateful to the Chief Minister Tiru Karunanidhi and his Cabinet for agreeing to provide the needed land and buildings, as also — jointly with the Government of India — the entire recurring expenditure needed for the efficient and successful functioning of the Institute.

Later this evening, the Draft Constitution of the Institute and its programme for the next two years 1971-72 and 1972-73 would be discussed and finalized by the Academic Consultative Committee which has been convened for the purpose by the International Association of Tamil Research. Each of the countries collaborating with the proposed Institute has a representative on this Committee. Thereafter the Institute would be given a legal status through registration in India, where it would be physically located, enabling the Institute to commence functioning in 1971.

Finally, the entire academic world owe a deep debt of gratitude to the UNESCO for recognising the importance of the study at an international level of this long neglected culture — in the context of the ancient and great cultures of the world and extending to the Institute its moral and material support in full measure. I wish to take this opportunity to express my personal appreciation and gratitude to Dr. Adiseshiah, the Acting Director-General of the UNESCO for the sympathetic and understanding way in which he helped the organizers to formulate the Project and to take the follow-up measures needed to implement it. The Institute itself would ever be a standing memorial to the part he played in making it a reality and I am sure in the days to come, when he returns to his homeland on retirement, he would still continue to take keen interest in the progress of the Institute in the creation of which he had an important role.

Thank you

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

PROF. JEAN FILLIOZAT, PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH

Sir Director General,
Excellencies,
Honourable Ministers,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I promised you, when declaring this session open, to make clear what are the aims of the International Association of Tamil Research and what is the traditional function of the Collège de France.

Chronologically I must begin with the latter, because it was established in 1530 by King François the First. At that time, the University of Paris, the Sorbonne, had already existed since the 13th century, but its teaching was limited to Theology, Law, Medicine and Arts. Only one language, Latin, was used and taught. A great humanist, Guillaume Budé who was the librarian of the King, advised him to nominate lecturers for Greek, Hebrew, Mathematics and slightly later Arabic, without taking into account the alleged monopoly of teaching claimed by the University. This raised a very angry reaction from the Sorbonne. The first secretary general of the Collège de France was murdered by the opponents. But the will of the King and the rights of reason were stronger ; peace came and the College developed till our days. It gradually included any new field of pure sciences and humanistic sciences, irrespective of their educational value for the students. The motto of the College was and still is : *Docet omnia*, "It teaches everything". It has been faithful to this direction throughout the centuries, during monarchies, revolutions, empires, republics and even foreign occupations, because it has no connection at all with any power or political interest.

The teaching is entirely free. There is no registration, no examination, no diploma, no degree. Anyone may attend the lectures which are just the means for the professors to present the results of their own researches or the occasion to organize seminars with those who are engaged in the same studies.

After Hebrew and Arabic, many other oriental languages have been successively introduced in the Collège de France ; Sanskrit in 1814, together with Chinese. The greatest of the French indologists, Eugène Burnouf, who was

professor of Sanskrit from 1832 to 1852, had, already in 1828, drawn the attention of scholars to the Tamil language. He directed one of his pupils, Edouard Ariel, to work at Pondicherry in this field. Ariel collected much material and published very promising philosophical articles but died prematurely. Later Tamil entered the Collège de France with my guru Jules Bloch. In the meantime the regular teaching of Tamil was established in the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes with Julien Vinson. Dravidian studies had also been officially recognised in 1873 when the First International Congress of Orientalists in Paris devoted a special session to these studies. The participants at that session dealt chiefly with Tamil but, also with other Dravidian languages, Kannaḍa and Telugu which were alluded to in the special session on Dravidian studies.

But, long before their introduction into the academic lectures and Congresses, Tamil studies had already served the general knowledge of India. They began in India in the early 18th century with famous missionaries like Beschi and Ziegenbalg. They supplied the first detailed and scientific information on Indian culture. La Croze in 1724, in his *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes* gave an account, important for the time, on the Tamilians, following the writings, then unpublished, of Ziegenbalg. The articles on India in the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert (middle of 18th century) are based chiefly on this information.

Tamil books and Tamil grammars and dictionaries have been collected together with Sanskrit works at the Royal Library of Paris at the beginning of the same century. The catalogue of these books was printed in 1739. This catalogue is exhibited in the Bibliothèque Nationale which we shall visit at the end of this Conference.

A fruitful collaboration between French and Indian scholars took place also in the 18th century. A learned Tamilian, Maridās Pi*ḷḷ*ai, who was conversant in French, Latin and Sanskrit as well as in his mother tongue, undertook to make Tamil culture known among the European scholars. He helped the astronomer Le Gentil to learn Tamil astronomy and he sent a French translation of the *Bâgavadam* to Paris. Deguignes, professor at the Collège de France and member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, was fortunate enough to discover thanks to this translation, the synchronism of Chandragupta and Alexander. He presented to the Academy, in 1772, this discovery and published it in his *Réflexions sur un livre indien intitulé Bâgavadam*, printed in 1777.

So, Tamil studies have been sought after in Collège de France for two centuries. That is why we are so happy to receive you at this very place for the first International Tamil Conference in the West.

Let us now turn to the International Association of Tamil Research.

Tamil culture is an ancient-one and a living-one. It cannot be properly and deeply studied by Westerners without the Tamil scholars in Tamilnad. On the other hand, Tamilnad is a part of India. India and especially Tamilnad have been all through their history in close contacts with other countries. So, modern Tamilians, for the scientific study of their own culture, need information on the neighbouring civilizations. Western orientalists who work in various fields may bring them something useful. International cooperation is necessary, even if, we Westerners, know we have much more to learn from our Tamil friends than to teach to them.

We join them without forgetting the precept of Tiruva*ḷḷ*uvar : "In the presence of scholars, after having spoken to convince them of what you have learnt, take much from those who have learnt much more than you."

கற்றுர்முன் கற்ற செலச்சொல்லித் தாங்கற்ற
மிக்காருள் மிக்க கொளல் (73, 4)

In any case, the field of Tamil studies is so large that no individual is able to cover it entirely. The task requires the formation of working teams and a close cooperation between them. Even the great founders of Tamil linguistics and philology, like Caldwell or Pope, did not work alone. To follow them and to go beyond the limits they have reached must be a collective enterprise. Everyone knows what the collaboration of Professors Burrow, Emeneau, Krishnamurthy and others has already brought to Dravidian linguistics.

On the French side, we have felt since long the need of direct contacts with the scholars of the countries which are the objects of our study. Our Ecole Française d'Extrême -Orient was established in 1901 on behalf of the Académie des Inscriptions and we have been lucky enough to start a French Institute of Indology in Pondicherry in 1955, by agreement with the Government of India. This gave us the opportunity to undertake with our Indian friends several collective tasks : the indexation of words in Ancient Tamil literature, the collection of iconographical documents, the collection and the edition or translation of Tamil Purāṇas and of *Śilpaśāstras* and Agamic literature in Sanskrit. This Sanskrit literature is a basis of religious and artistic culture in Tamilnad and also in South-East Asia, where Tamilian have carried much of Indian influences.

But, if we want to know the peoples completely, it is not enough to study their history and their achievements in literature, sciences and arts. It is also necessary to investigate the ecological condition of their life. We must ascertain the influences of the climate, of the soil, of the vegetation on their physical and psychological being. Ancient Tamils have already duly paid much attention to,

the situation of men in Nature. They have been led to distinguish the *aintiṇai* the five kinds of regions : *kuRiñci* or the mountains, *pālai* or the desert, *mullai* or the forest, *marutam* or the cultivated lands, and *neytal* or the sea coast. And they have recognised a link between these kinds of regions and corresponding ways of life, behaviour and feelings. Now, with the means put at our disposal by the development of climatology, biology etc ... we may get a lot of precise information. With pollen-analysis, after describing the pollens of the various plants, and if pollens have been preserved in the archaeological levels, we may determine which crops were grown and which economic conditions were existing in the corresponding periods.

So we think the investigation of the natural environment of man must be introduced into our study of peoples, especially in Tamilnad where the data of literature and archaeology may complete those of the scientific investigation of Nature. That is why we have included among the activities of our Institute of Pondichéry mapping of vegetation, bio-climatology, bio-geography, pollen-analysis etc ...

In January 1964, at New Delhi, on the occasion of the International Congress of Orientalists, several of our colleagues joined together in order to found the International Association of Tamil Research with a view to encourage and to coordinate the efforts of individuals or small institutions scattered throughout the world, very often isolated but sharing a common interest in Tamil and Tamilnad.

The reasons of this interest are varied. First is the love of Tamil not only among those who have it as their mother tongue, but also among foreigners who have been lucky enough to have a glance into its rich literature. Another reason is the linguistic importance of Tamil as one of the most typical languages of the Dravidian family, and also as the most ancient and the most abundantly represented in this family. A third reason is the awareness of the rôle played by Tamilnad and Tamil culture in the history of India and of the expansion of Indian culture towards South-East Asia. Some people are also interested in Tamil as being their national language or even out of parochialism.

These people cannot help the studies very much. They are exclusive, they don't think "every place is their own, everyone is their family".

Their claims of prodigious antiquity, priority, superiority for Tamil only cannot be seriously taken into consideration. These claims just remind us of those of Goropius, in the 16th century, who declared the language of Flanders was the primitive language of mankind.

Quite different are the true lovers of Tamil and Tamil culture. It is thanks to them that Tamil has flourished through the ages. It is thanks to them that

centamiL had been preserved and was maintained in face of the very strong influence of Sankrit in the literary circles of All India and against colloquial variations. It is thanks to such scholars, as the great Saminadaiyar, that the old poetry has been published and put at the disposal of all. It is also thanks to devotees that the literatures of ĀLvār and NayaNmār has been explained, commented upon, and finally published. Even now these lovers of Tamil works, each one in his own speciality, are the keepers of the fundamental sources of Tamil philology. We are not obliged to be blindly satisfied with their traditions and interpretations. But we must always carefully take their opinions into account, if they are ready for discussion and if they admit for themselves the necessity to prove what they believe. No basic material would have been available without them and, as they represent the voice of tradition, their ideas are in Tamil culture genuine facts which can never be ignored. They have still a great rôle to play in international scientific cooperation.

On the other hand, a modern approach to the problems is also necessary for the progress of our studies. But modern theories in history, sociology or literary criticism have ordinarily been established in Western countries with a superficial knowledge of Eastern cultures. They are not yet general, not yet adapted to the Oriental traditions which are very numerous and very different from each other. So, modern scientific ways of approach cannot be, from a truly scientific viewpoint, mechanically applied in Oriental and especially in Tamil studies.

We have first not only to learn the language but also to acquire some acquaintance with the entire culture of those who have composed the texts or built the monuments. This may be done only through a close collaboration between modern and traditional scholars.

Humanistic sciences are much more controversial and tentative than natural sciences. If we want to promote them, the best way would be to follow the same way as these natural sciences. That is the way of success. Entomology, for example, was born only when the naturalists, without ceasing to admire the colours of the butterflies, had taken the trouble to investigate the anatomy and functions of all the elements of the body and way of life of the insects. This necessity of full information and understanding has been felt by ancient Tamils. We may again quote from the *TirukkuRaḷ* :

"Whatever may be the nature of one object, the seeing of the true meaning of this object is knowledge".

எப்பொருள் எத்தன்மைத் தாயினும் அப்பொருள்
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு (36, 5)

This is in accordance with the right scientific method. This condemns superficial view and provisional hypotheses. Successful sciences must first collect all the available facts and accept hypotheses only if they are in accordance with all these facts and in contradiction with none.

In the present stage of Tamil studies the first aim to look for is collection and the ascertaining of the facts. The task before us is immense.

As far as the International Association of Tamil Research is concerned, this task is limited to Academic inquiry into the Tamil material at our disposal. We cannot enter for the moment into speculations on the origin of language and culture because we lack sufficient data, as for all the ancient languages and cultures of the world. But we must investigate as deeply as possible into the existing texts, inscriptions, monuments and archaeological remains. We must also study the participation of the Tamil country to the making and to the expansion of All-Indian culture. We must be aware of the contacts Tamilians have had with foreign people. The task is not only immense but also very austere. In any case it is fundamental. We cannot be satisfied with the admiration of masterpieces, we must deal with everything concerning Tamilnad. But the severity of the technical research does not exclude the love of the object of this research—Tamil and Tamil culture.

We once more agree with Tiruvaḷḷuvar : "Where flows Love is the abode of Life. For those who are deprived of it, the body is merely bones covered with skin".

அன்பின் வழிய துயிர்நிலை யஃதிலார்க்
கென்புதோல் போர்த்த வுடம்பு (8, 10)

தமிழ் வாழ்க!

VOTE OF THANKS

Professor X.S. Thani Nayagam proposed a vote of thanks, and read messages which had been received, among which was one from the Ceylon National Unit of the International Association of Tamil Research inviting the Governing Body to hold the Fourth International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies in Ceylon.

SESSION II

EPIGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

ASKO PARPOLA

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

I. MAHADEVAN

R. NAGASAMY

JEAN FILLIOZAT Chairman

PROTO-DRAVIDIAN AND SANSKRIT

IN RECONSTRUCTING THE EARLIEST FORM OF HINDUISM

Notes on Methodology

ASKO PARPOLA

The methods and first results of the decipherment of the Indus script by the study group of which I am a member have been published, and also summarized in the April 1970 issue of the *Journal of Tamil Studies*. Instead of repeating what has already been made known I would like to discuss here the methodology of my latest studies, which will be published in a forthcoming monograph on the world view of the Indus people.

The decipherment, which showed that the Indus people were Dravidians and that their religion was Hinduism with a prominent astral aspect, made it imperative for me to work out the consequence of these facts. In my forthcoming book I have tried to reconstruct the outlines of the original form of Hinduism by comparing all sources that may possibly be related to it. Literary sources, archaeological remains, and linguistic evidence from India and abroad, from neolithic times until the present day, make up the source material utilized in the study. I shall discuss below only the linguistic aspect of my studies.

The literary sources relating to Hinduism are mainly in Sanskrit. Even if one is unwilling to accept that the Dravidian origin of Hinduism is proved by the Indus script, it is hard to dispute that Hinduism is a non Indo-European religion. It follows that the original language of Hinduism cannot be Sanskrit, which is an Indo-European language, but must be a non-Āryan language of India. But it is impossible to transform a whole religion from one language to another without obscuring it, especially if the two languages concerned are not at all related to each other. Words for the same concepts are likely to have quite different connotations and associations. The translations will unavoidably be imperfect. This can, to a certain extent, be overcome by rendering one and the same original term in several different ways, but this will also contribute to the confusion, as each of these translations tends to become independent, being then interpreted on the basis of the new language. To take an example from theology, the number of divinities has been greatly increased by this method of multiple translation. Direct loans are also bound to occur in the secondary language,

revealing the original vehicle of the religion. All this has happened in shifting the language of Hinduism from Dravidian to Sanskrit, and parallel changes can be observed in the later changes (in the case of Buddhism) from Sanskrit to Tibetan, Chinese, Mongol, and other lesser-known languages of Central-Asia.

The mythology of the ancient peoples was often rooted in phonetic similarity between a key-word and other words which semantically may be quite unrelated. We have ample evidence of this kind of mythopoeic etymology or etymological mythology in the Vedic Brāhmaṇa texts. The phonetic structure of the Dravidian languages is very simple, no complicated clusters being allowed, and therefore they possess an unusually great number of totally, or nearly, homophonous words with different semantic meanings. This is reflected in the effectiveness of the rebus principle in expressing the Proto-Dravidian language. But linguistic speculation on homophones has also, as will be seen, played a rôle of the utmost importance in the making of Hindu mythology.

It is, however, quite impossible to translate such "puns" into a totally unrelated language. The biblical myth of Eve's creation from Adam's rib is a good example of what is likely to happen in such cases. In the Hebrew language Eve is "Hawwā", which means "she who gives life", i.e. "mother", and "rib" is "sēlā". The story has lost the sense it had in the original language, Sumerian, where the word for "to bring to life", "ti", and the word for "rib", "ti", are homophonous. The word "rib" had to be translated, even if by a totally different word, because of the already existing aetiological *myth* connected with the conception of life. This story has actually been found in the earlier Sumerian paradise myth, which has been rediscovered on the clay tablets from Mesopotamia. (Cf. S. N. *Kramer*, *The Sumerians*, Chicago, 1963, p.149. I am indebted to Simo Parpola for calling my attention to this illustration.)

The obscure terms of the Sanskrit version of Hinduism provide us with good clues to rediscovering their originals in Dravidian, which have in most cases been preserved in Tamil. There are often several slightly or very different words for the same concepts in Sanskrit, and by comparing these sets of words we are often led in the right direction. Still more helpful are the translations of words with many meanings, (e.g. Śrīvatsa, discussed in another paper), and of course direct loans, which we judge to be fairly numerous. It has been necessary to attack the etymologically unexplained Sanskrit words and names connected with Hinduism with the weapons of logic and method, and the following principles have been applied, with good results.

If the word does not have a water-tight Indo-European etymology, the Sanskrit word is more likely to have been borrowed from Dravidian than vice versa, especially if it contains such characteristically Dravidian phonemes as the

cerebrals and denotes some specifically Indian or Hindu concept. Many proper names of gods and their emblems, place-names, etc., which in Sanskrit are devoid of meaning, can now be read in Dravidian with a suitable meaning. From the methodical point of view the most important thing is that these etymologies can also be *proved* to be correct by the relevant homophones that have directed the course of development of these concepts, and are thus intimately associated with them. In fact many of these terms have more than one etymology, in the sense that the meanings of several homophonous words are intended.

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In illustration of his paper, Dr. Parpola discussed the *śrī-vatsa* symbol, an auspicious mark on the right chest of Viṣṇu. The homophones of the corresponding Tamil term *tiru-maRu* prove according to him its originality (which involves also that *tiru* is not derived from Sanskrit *śrī*) and show that *śrīvatsa* symbolized the wheel of rebirths. Both words *tiru* and *maRu* mean "to turn over and over", referring to the ceaseless revolution of the wheel of rebirths. Śrīvatsa is probably originally identical with *svastika*, *nandyāvarta* and other symbols of luck adorning the breast of great men (Cf E. Senart, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, Paris 1882, p. 128 f.). *Svastika's* crampons "turn over and over", and both left-turning and right-turning *svastikas* are known in India, beginning with the Harappan seals. It is reasonable to assume that they have a contrasting meaning. The word *maRu* is associated by its homophones with "intoxication", "ignorance" (cause of rebirths), "neglect", "desire" (a cause of rebirths), "sin", and "cruelty, war", which cause the man to be born "again" in a worse rebirth or throw him into the tortures of the hell, also alluded to by the homophones. In addition, *maRu* means not only "young of an animal" which corresponds to Sanskrit *vatsa* "calf", but also "mole" of the body, which is an auspicious mark. The word *tiru* means "holy cow" which is contrasted with its young and violent "calf", and is associated by its homophones with "recovering from intoxication", "becoming conscious of one's guilt", "mental awakening", "understanding clearly the truth", and "correcting one's character", which all make the wheel of rebirths "to take a new direction", and eventually lead to the "cessation of the revolution", "cutting of the bond" with existence, and "release" from the cycle of rebirths.

THE SO-CALLED 'DRAVIDIAN' OF THE INDUS INSCRIPTIONS

KAMIL V. ZVELEBIL

(As a preliminary remark I should like to stress that most of what is going to be presented here has been discussed at length with Arlene R. K. Zide of the University of Chicago, who is responsible mainly for the critique of the methods and techniques of 'decipherment' as they appear in the work of the Soviet and Finnish team.)

Can the Indus Valley script be deciphered successfully ? The last five years have seen three attempts at a 'decipherment'. A group of Finns under the leadership of Asko Parpola has recently claimed it has successfully broken the script, and that the language of the script is Dravidian. A similar attempt made several years earlier by a Soviet group under the direction of Yu. V. Knorozov claims only comparatively moderate success, also seeing the language of the Indus script as Dravidian. Finally, Dieter Scrapel of Marbug, in a very different attempt, also 'reads' the Indus inscriptions as Dravidian.

The Soviet publications consist of two short monographs with several papers included in them, being of different content and quality. The first monograph of 1965 is the longer of the two, written in Russian, and contains papers covering a wide range of subjects more or less relevant to the problem. Briefly, one finds a general introduction to the material and one is told of the difficulties involved in trying to decipher data of such a brief and presumably limited nature. There are two sections dealing with the mathematical procedures, one in purely mathematical terms by M. A. Probst, another by A. M. Kondratov, who sums up the procedures and conclusions reached, from the point of view of statistical linguistics.

Briefly summarized, a positional analysis in terms of statistics was carried out, using as controls several scripts which though actually known were treated as continuous unknown texts, in the same way in which the Proto-Indian data were handled. This was done in order to facilitate the recognition of artificial junctions of signs (called 'polygrams') which might occur between inscriptions, and to establish similar curves between the various types of script examined. The curve of emergence of new signs in relation to the increase in length of a text in Proto-Indian inscriptions was found to coincide with the curve of emergence of new signs in ancient Egyptian, these curves exhibiting sharp 'overfalls'

specific to hieroglyphic systems of writing. On analogy with the Egyptian data the Soviet authors considered signs of high frequency to function in a similar manner — i.e. as grammatical markers, and those of low frequency as root morphemes.

The direction of writing was obviously from right to left — something which was guessed as far back as Langdon, and demonstrated most conclusively by B. B. Lal. The graphemic system displayed only roots and various types of suffixes but no prefixes or infixes.

Signs were classified as stable (these were identified with roots); semi-variable (identified with derivational suffixes); and variable (identified with inflexional suffixes). The set of semi-variables included not only derivational suffixes but also a subgroup which only occurred before roots and was judged to act as modifiers. Word-order was found to be stable. The team then arrived at a typological conclusion : the language underlying the script could be neither Indo-Aryan nor Muṇḍā but only Dravidian. Starting from this premise and assuming that the rebus principle was widely adopted for many signs, the Soviets attempted to identify some of the stable signs with certain Dravidian roots, and some semi-variable and variable signs with Dravidian suffixes.

There are two papers which deal specifically with the problems of possible genetic relationship between 'Proto-Indian' and other language-families. The earlier paper by Fedorova is totally unsound from the linguistic point of view, since her conclusions are based on limited and usually incorrect data about the language families in question. Gurov's later and much more detailed investigation on the other hand is highly interesting, if speculative.

Fedorova's paper (1965) is a short and wholly inadequate attempt trying to assess the relative likelihood of various language families as candidates for the 'Proto-Indian' language. Throughout her paper there are gross discrepancies, evidence of sloppy scholarship and indications of a general lack of grasp of the various problems, to say nothing of the languages. It is clear from the start that Fedorova is unfamiliar either with Muṇḍā or Dravidian. Her data for Dravidian (like Muṇḍā) come from the highly antiquated LSI, IV. She could have hardly selected her examples more unfortunately, lumping together in rather haphazard fashion just a few examples, giving wrong designations for the languages and quoting with many errors. One amusing example : She assures us, e.g., that an utterance (misquoted) is Brahui (out of LSI IV, 633). It took me some detective work to discover that this is a misplaced specimen of Korava (LSI IV, 326). What she has to say about the structural properties of Dravidian is not incorrect but she has dealt only with the most general features of Dravidian structure, and in a rather nebulous manner.

The paper by Gurov in the second monograph is of an entirely different calibre. It is well documented, based on solid knowledge of the comparative Dravidian material, and contains speculations which are often rather attractive and ingenious. However, speculations they remain. The 'readings' arrived at cannot be either proved or disproved. Granted that we accept, a) that the script is indeed logosyllabic and b) that there is a simple transfer between the signs of the script and the grammatical categories of the language, which means, c) that the semi-variable and the variable signs indeed represent derivational and inflectional morphemes while the constant signs represent roots, and d) that the typological features of the 'Proto-Dravidian' language point to Dravidian and Dravidian only — then, and only then, can we go along with Gurov in his attempt to 'read' the signs.

However, none of the authors have made it sufficiently clear that they were aware of the distinction 'script-language'. Variables and semi-variables might have been employed to express something else than grammatical features. What about the graphic additions which are treated as 'ornamental allography', as non-meaningful, functionally 'empty' allographs ? Might not these minute additions have had some function ? The typological equation with Dravidian is plausible, even probable, but certainly not the only one possible. This equation has to be accepted as an 'act of faith' since the basic properties of the 'Proto-Indian' language, enumerated several times by the authors, apply equally well to some other linguistic families, e.g. Altaic.

Gurov begins the actual 'decipherment' on p. 32, based on a very weak premise, saying that blocks delimited by the signs —



are in fact names of different persons and mythological figures ... since they form, as single blocks, whole inscriptions. This is plausible, but entirely speculative, and other 'reading' of this sign-sequence is possible.

Gurov then proceeds to assign meanings to a few signs, working usually with Dr. 'homophony.' His cases are highly speculative, but the speculation is very ingenious and may lead to quite plausible results. Thus e.g. the homophony of **nāl- k* V- 'four' and **nal-* 'good' is a good one — if we at all accept the 'rebus' principle of 'homophony', that is. The same is true about the homophony of Ta. etc. *kā-* 'to bear a burden' and Ta. etc. *kā-* 'to guard, to protect'. On the other hand, some connections are very hard to accept. Mostly, though, there is nothing wrong with Gurov's equations from the Dravidianist's point of view.

An excellent observation of Gurov's is e.g. his interpretation of the geminated fish-sign as 'celestial, shining, beautiful', and his 'reading' of this sequence in the true Dravidian fashion as **min-min*-. On the other hand, these two signs (the 'reduplication') might have signified plurality, and the double fish sign might have signified 'sky' (= 'many stars'). It is not improbable, but also not original, having been suggested by Heras. At the end of his paper Gurov gives a tentative transliteration and translation of one short inscription (H 342) — certainly not one of the difficult inscriptions. The latter portion, consisting of a numeral (||, two) and the 'cup' sign (U), may be easily read as 'two cups' or 'two offerings'. The first portion containing the fish sign and the so-called 'great goddess' sign is not so convincing. The sign 'hook' (t) is 'read' as 'made us give' or 'makes us give' — this 'reading' based on the homophony of **koṭ* — **kuṭ* — 'curved, crooked' and **koṭ* — / **kuṭ* — 'to give'. Attractive but again, entirely speculative.

The speculative nature of the attempt should not only have been admitted but stressed by Knorozov and Gurov. As pointed out, one must accept a series of 'acts of faith' to even begin to accept concrete readings. The extremely tentative nature of the results should at least have been indicated. On the other hand, in the absence of bilingual material, and the inscriptions being limited in size (and probably also in content) there is hardly any other procedure possible : positional statistics based on frequency counts, and, subsequently, an intuitive-speculative approach.

If one grants that the Soviet group's conclusions, based on the implications of the graphotactic statistical information, about the typological characterization of the script are valid, then one can agree that Dravidian is a possibility. That it is the sole possibility one can accept, however, is not the case. The typological conclusions do indeed fit Dravidian but would fit any of the 'Altaic' languages as well. From the point of view of strict historical comparative linguistic method, there is not the slightest proof of any genetic relationship between Dravidian and the 'proto-Indian' language. Any discussion of such a relationship belongs to the realm of sheer speculation.

In October 1964 Asko and Simo Parpola and Seppo Koskenniemi, encouraged by the success of Michael Ventris, the decipherer of Linear B, set out to apply statistical techniques to the Indus script, employing a standard data-processing IBM computer.

The first two publications of the Finnish scholars appeared in 1969. Like the Soviet scholars before them, they transcribed the Indus material into 'machine-readable' form, using various control languages such as Neo-Assyrian, presargonic Sumerian, Linear B, and Middle Egyptian hieroglyphics.

However, no mathematical proof is offered the reader regarding the conclusions reached.

Asko Parpola introduces the reader to the method of the 'decipherment' on p.8 of the first monograph. He contends that the script must be a logographic or logosyllabic system based on knowledge of the types of scripts in use around 2500 B.C.

It is clear, however, that the Indus script cannot be considered to be logographic even if it does prove to be as highly limited and 'primitive' a rebus system as the Finns contend. In the second monograph, this major objection has been explicitely rectified. The reader is told that he has to regard the script as logosyllabic. A sign can stand for several homophonous words, or parts of words which are phonetically identical but semantically different. There seems also to be fair evidence for phonetic complements being used.

The admission that there may be phonetic complements involved in the script is another improvement in the second monograph. However, the sign count itself made by the Finnish authors is somewhat questionable since they include ligatures and modified forms (allographs?) as different signs. There are no grids, nor attempts at anything beyond mere assessments of frequency of an extremely small number of signs offered the reader. Whether these grids were in fact made is questionable, for even the most cursory perusal of the admittedly inadequate and incomplete sign-lists in Mohenjo-Daro (pp. 434-452, Vol.2) must persuade the careful observer that such grids would yield much information in respect to what may be called, for want of better terminology 'syntagmatic and 'paradigmatic' classes of auxiliary or augmentative signs, or sign-formants (Mrs. Zide's terms). No attempt has been made to systematically interrelate the occurrence or frequencies of such auxiliary or augmentative signs. The second monograph is thus very disappointing to the serious student of the Indus script.

The absence of grids and other assessments of patternings is one of the most serious drawbacks of the Finnish attempt. As regards the identification of Dravidian as the language of the Indus script, it is a plausible identification, but by no means the only possible one. The impression one gets is that in truth Dravidian was assumed before the 'decipherment', and that 'facts' were made to fit the desired results. Granting that the statistical information supplied by the computer identifies the structure of the language rather than merely the superficial structure of the script, one could agree with the conclusion regarding the possibility of a Dravidian language. But, the typological information does also fit many 'Altaic' languages as well. Dravidian is certainly one of the best possibilities but by no means the only one. However, if Dravidian is a correct

guess, then the question is 'what' Dravidian ? Proto-North Dravidian ? Proto-Dravidian ? The problem is not even considered, and the Finnish 'reconstructions' are more often than not linguistically very unsound. We must object to many of the specific examples as well as to more general procedures exhibited by the Finnish scholars.

For instance, on p. 21 of the first brochure, the authors say, quite mistakenly, that the order in PDr was stem $\pm$ case $\pm$ plural. All twenty-two Dravidian languages known to date including Tamil whose records go back as far as probably the 3rd Century B.C. have the order of morphemes : stem $\pm$ plural $\pm$ case. In the second publication the authors corrected their original notions regarding the order of morphemes for case, gender and number, but not their equivalencies of signs with the particular morphemes.

As far as the concrete readings for Dravidian are concerned, fifty percent or so of the Dravidian equations cannot be accepted. A good many of these equations unfortunately reveal a not too firm grasp of comparative linguistic methodology, particularly as applied to Dravidian. There are many instances of such mistakes. I shall quote only a few which serve as flagrant illustrations.

Even granting the possibility that the vowel-correspondences are not to be taken too seriously (however, there is not much to be said for such lenient approach to vowel-qualities of Dr. roots, the vowels being pretty stable), the 'homophones' established for the numerals 1 and 4 by the authors are absolutely unacceptable. The PDr reconstruction for 'one' and 'four', arrived at by strict comparative and historical linguistic methods, are subst. **ontu*, adj. **oru* / **ōr* 'one' ; subst. **nālku*, adj. **nal* / **nāl* 'four' ; by no stretch of imagination can one consider these shapes to be homophonous with DED 592 'to plough', reconstructed as *u̯r-/ **uc*- or DED 3012 'country, land', reconstructable as **nāṭ/u*.

In the second publication the authors have made several errors which are unpardonable. From the point of view of comparative Dr. linguistics, the derivation of Śiva from PDr **ceva*, **civa* etc. 'red' is totally unacceptable simply because there is no such PDr reconstruction as **ceva*, **civa* 'red'. The authors say : "PDr. *ceva, civa 'red' (DED 1607, found in all Dravidian languages)." Anybody who knows something about the methodology of comparative and historical linguistics must immediately observe, in consulting the entry DED 1607, that the PDr reconstruction of this root cannot be **ce*- but **ke*- since in all the languages except Ta. Ma. (and sporadically Te.) this item begins with *k*- or, in NDr, with its regular reflex *x* ; and though **k*- $>$ *c*- is simply accounted for in terms of palatalization, the reverse **c*- $>$ *k*- would be unexplainable in the respective environments. It is now twenty-seven years since T. Burrow in his

'*Dravidian Studies III*' discussed this sound-change. Thus, the derivation of Śiva from a PDr form beginning with the palatal and meaning 'red' has been invalid for over a quarter of a century now. By the same token, the discussion on p.16 is all wrong ; here the authors quite incorrectly reconstruct a PDr **cevi* 'ear' for DED 1645. The only possible reconstruction is **kevi* / **kemi* * < *kevi* and probably **kepi*, with the regular Tamil-Malayāḷam and Telugu palatalization of *k- > *c-* and with the equally regular NDr development of *k- > *kh-* (i.e. / x /) in this environment.

On the same page, the authors propose a 'homophone' of PDr 'red' and PDr 'straight'. Again wrong. In PDr and even in the later stages, these certainly could not be 'homophonous' since **ke-* 'red' was in contrast with **ca-* / **ce-* 'straight'. It is surprising and somewhat staggering that these relatively simple matters escaped the notice of the authors. The whole discussion of Śiva on pp. 15-16 becomes thus quite irrelevant. There are many further instances found in both the first and the second announcement of faulty and questionable scholarship. The last report — a 39 page paper in xerox form, is unfortunately the poorest of the lot. It purports to be a final proof of the correctness of the 'decipherment', but even the first proofs have not been produced yet, not to speak of final proofs. This last report in addition to its overassertiveness as being a 'solution', is poorly written and even more poorly organized. The reader is forced to skip from topic to topic in almost each paragraph ; the contents of the paragraphs are just so many illogical meanderings and speculations. I cannot go into details. I will point out just a few instances.

The authors equate 'rebus' principle in the first two monographs without any regard for distinction in vowel length, while in the third paper, they distinguish vowel length as a significant feature. The logic of such a paradox existing within the confines of presumably the same writing system escapes us. There is not a word of explanation of this paradox.

As regards the lack of knowledge of comparative and historical Dravidian material, I shall again cite only a few instances. Thus they 'read' (on p. 6), the signs



as suffixes of the possessive genitive, — *uṭaiya* (N) and — *uṭaiyava* (N). To 'read' these signs in this manner is a case of what may be called reverse anachronism. First, the morph *uṭai* (DED 510) < **uṭay* 'wealth, possession' used as a postposition in the 'possessive' function, has cognates only in SDr and Te.

Second, the formation of 'possessive genitive' with this morphs and its later (expanded) form *uṭai-y-a* is most probably a late (and limited) Tamil-Malayāḷam (i.e. not even Proto-Tamil but later 'pre-literary Tamil') development ; thus, to reconstruct it for 'Proto-Indic' as the 'normal' (what do they mean by this highly 'technical' term, anyhow ?) genitive suffix is highly questionable, to say the least.

Or : on pp. 17-18, the authors use the so-called homophony of SDr and Te. *aracan* 'king', an Indo-Aryan borrowing, and Dr. *aracu*, 'the pipal-tree'. How Dr. **aracu* 'pipal tree' can be considered to have been homophonous with SDr and Te. *aracan* 'king' in the Dravidian proto-language (asserted for the people of the Indus) is beyond my comprehension — unless we presume that the 'Dravidian-speaking' Indus people borrowed the word for 'king' from Indo-Aryan at that very early period and then base on this leanword a nice 'homophony' with *aracu* to oblige the decipherers !

In last year's September issue of *Antiquity*, the comments by Sir Gerard Clauson and John Chadwick were rather non-committal and very cautious. Chadwick, to quote him, needed first the "assurance from the experts on Dravidian philology that the reconstructed forms are sound." 'Unfortunately, the expert on Dravidian linguistics cannot give this assurance. On the contrary. T.Burrow, who published his review of the Copenhagen publication in *Antiquity* 53, No. 172, last December, does frankly refuse the 'decipherment'. He has raised a number of objections against the various identifications as well as against the general methodology and the attempts at reconstruction. Burrow's main objection is that many of the items cited by the authors can hardly or not at all be ascribed to Primitive Dravidian. As he says, criticizing the authors' identifications of suffixes, "it certainly cannot be taken for granted that the form which appears in Tamil was also current at the other end of India 2000 years earlier". This is precisely what the authors — especially in the third publication try to do : they identify Tamil forms with some Dravidian proto-language which was supposed to be used by the Indus people. They also gather scraps of information, of very different quality and value, and do base, on suspicious information, even more suspicious speculations. Using such procedures and such data, anything and everything is possible.

According to Burrow, far too many items have to be excluded as being definitely not ancient, and when not impossible other reconstructions remain uncertain.

B. B. Lal, Director-General of Archaeology in India, does not accept the 'decipherment' either.

I am sorry to say that I have to emphatically refuse the 'decipherment'. I

was, at the very beginning, favorably impressed by some very ingenious speculations based on presumably very sound computer and mathematical procedures. But as time went by, and the second, and then the third report appeared, I have lost my enthusiasm entirely.

We have spent many hours of intensive and careful work on the Soviet and Finnish attempts with Arlene R. K. Zide, the University of Chicago expert on Indus Valley Script. The results of these labours are or will be published in our reviews in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, in *Language*, and as a book by Mouton.

In sum, we must, first, grant the soundness of the mathematical theory and the computer procedures, the consequence of which is a typological picture of the language. Both attempts do present us with a credible typology, more or less confirming one another's results.

However, the typology itself — i.e. suffixes rather than prefixes and infixes, stable word order, determination preceding determined, etc., — is too general. True, it can apply to both Dravidian and Altaic (and probably other language families which we may be unaware of) but it is a typological picture based on only four or so very general points.

If we accept the typological picture as significant the two most likely language families are Dravidian and Altaic. Obviously Dravidian was selected as most likely by both groups of scholars because of its geographical location in terms of the Indus Civilization. However, historical perspective cannot rule out the alternative.

The Dravidian data employed in both attempts are not entirely satisfactory. Whereas the Soviet material (thanks to Gurov) is often quite solid, the Parpola-Aalto Dravidian 'reconstructions' and etymologies are for the most part inaccurate and incorrect.

In assessing the value of both attempts one must make a clear distinction between that part of the material which deals with the typological character of the script and language based on verifiable mathematical and statistical procedures, and the remainder which consists of mere unverifiable speculations.

According to my opinion, a further attempt may be based on the following premises :

(a) that the script — running from right to left — reflects some kind of logosyllabic system and that it 'fits the language' ;

(b) that the 'additions' supposed to constitute meaningless allographs are functional elements as, possibly, some kinds of phonetic indicators ; that some kinds of determinatives were employed, and that ligatures occur systematically ;

(c) that the 'rebus' principle based on homophony was a tool employed by the inventors or adaptors of the Indus script ;

(d) that the language of the inscriptions had probably been some kind of Dravidian, possibly a dialect of Proto-North Dravidian ;

(e) that root and non-root morphemes in Dravidian are ultimately reduceable to monosyllabic patterns ;

(f) that we are able to reconstruct Proto-North Dravidian and Proto-Dravidian root and non-root morphemes, our reconstruction being based on solid comparative and historical procedures.

A proof that the readings and translations of the Indus inscriptions as Dravidian are correct may be offered only if

(a) either a bilingual material will confirm the validity of a 'Dravidian hypothesis',

(b) (or) if, in the absence of a bilingual, a much greater amount of material will be read, translated and interpreted, and such large amount of data will form a meaningful and consistent corpus of texts.

So far none of this has been exhibited either in the Soviet or the Finnish attempt. Therefore, both attempts have been found unconvincing.

Mr. Dieter Schrapel's attempt is of a very different nature, but equally, if not more unconvincing. If the audience wishes, I can discuss it in the possible following discussion.

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THE DISCUSSION

Replying to Professor Zvelebil's criticism, Dr. Parpola said that the fundamentals of the decipherment stood unshaken, although mistakes had been made in the initial stages. He recalled the preliminary nature of the working reports, and compared the developing of the decipherment with the solving of a cross-word puzzle. Everything cannot be correct in the start, but working hypotheses are necessary, and the process of the work reveals errors and confirms correct solutions.

We are, of course, grateful to specialists in Dravidian linguistics for constructive criticism, but we are not prepared to accept their statements ex cathedra as absolutely true, said Dr. Parpola. He mentioned as an example Professor Burrow's exclusion of the word *ōṭam* 'boat' from the vocabulary that can be used in an attempt to decipher the Indus script. (Cf. *Antiquity*, Vol. 43, 1969, p. 227). According to Professor Burrow, it is at least doubtful that the word is Dravidian and not Indo-Aryan in origin, in consideration of the initial *h* - in Sanskrit *hoḍa*, which is regularly dropped in Indo-Aryan loanwords in Dravidian, but cannot be explained *vice versa*, and because the word is absent in the early Tamil literature. However, the exclusion of the word would be detrimental if it is genuine Dravidian, as seems most likely with a view to its wide representation in the Dravidian languages (see DED 876), its probable derivation from the certainly Dravidian root *ōṭu* 'to run, to sail' (DED 877), and its actual occurrence, even if this be a hapax legomenon, in the early Tamil Caṅkam text *AkanāNūRu* (101), where the sun is spoken of as a boat crossing the ocean of heaven. (This reference was noticed by Mr. R. Panneerselvam). In Sanskrit the word is only attested from lexicons, and in general nautical terms are more likely to be of Dravidian than Aryan origin.

Critics go astray, Dr. Parpola pointed out, in identifying the Proto-Dravidian of the Harappan inscriptions with the Primitive Dravidian, the parent language of all Dravidian languages. Dr. Parpola would be inclined to date this primitive mother language thousands of years earlier than the Harappan language, which, as far as can be judged at the present stage of the decipherment, is very close to the Southern group of the Dravidian languages.

The derivation of the god's name *Śiva* from reconstructed Dravidian **ceva* or **civa* 'red' (DED 1607), so emphatically rejected byProfessor Zvelebil, cannot be proved wrong because there is no inscriptional evidence that would show the palatalization of *k*- into *c*- to be a later development that took place

in historical times *after* the adoption of the god's name by the Aryans. The only possible reconstruction for primitive Dravidian is, of course, **keva*, **kiva*. The evidence that we *do* have is strongly in favour of the derivation of *Śiva* from **civa* 'red' : some aspects of the god Śiva are represented in the Veda by *Rudra*, whose name can best be explained as an Āryan translation of the god's name, "The Red One", being formed in analogy to Indra, and denoting the same as *rudhira* 'red, blood', which is also an irregular derivation (instead of **rudhra*) from Indo-European **rudhro* 'red'. In addition comes the fact that an extraordinarily great number of words meaning 'red' are among Rudra's Rigvedic epithets.

Considering Professor Zvelebil's description of the methodology of the Finns not to be quite fair, Dr. Parpola explained the fundamentals of their decipherment on the blackboard : it is based on the isolation of the paradigm of the nominal declension, as well as of the signs for "man" and"woman", on the basis of a statistical and contextual analysis, which was done before any attempt was made to link the script with a definite language or language group. For the rest he referred to his paper to be published in the *Journal of Tamil Studies*, Vol. II, no. 1. (April, 1970).

PROFESSOR ZVELEBIL did not make any further remarks. MR. I. MAHADEVAN then made an exposition of his approach to the decipherment of the Indus Valley script.

METHOD OF PARALLELISMS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PROTO-INDIAN SCRIPT

IRAVATHAM MAHADEVAN

1. *The method of Parallelisms* :

1.1. The long quest for an understanding of the Proto-Indian ('Harappan') script has entered an exciting and perhaps decisive phase with the recent publications[1] of the preliminary results achieved by the Soviet and the Finnish scholars working in the field. The methodology adopted by both the teams is broadly the same, viz., (a) the determination of the functional characteristics of each sign by statistical-positional analysis carried out with the help of a computer ; and (b) ascertaining the probable phonetic value by the technique of homophony applied after linguistic reconstruction. While there are differences in the identification of individual signs, both the teams are agreed on the fundamental result that the language of the inscriptions is Dravidian.

1.2. The purpose of the present paper is to suggest the possibility of employing an additional technique, that of the method of parallelisms, to identify the syntactic features of the Proto-Indian inscriptions and to facilitate their linguistic interpretation.

1.3. Emil Forrer[2] (1932) pointed out that it was possible to acquire an objective comprehension of the contents of an inscription even before deciphering the script by the observation of parallel phenomena. Parallels can occur between a symbolical representation and a text associated with it (e.g., a text inscribed near the figure of a deity), between the written object and its designation (e.g., a text with numerals engraved on a bronze implement) or between the written symbol itself and its meaning (e.g., an ideogram whose pictographic origin is obvious). Parallels can also be set up by observing the similarities in the standard formulae employed in ancient inscriptions, e.g., the opening of the royal inscriptions, the formulae of curses and the introduction to letters. Forrer was able to show that such comparisons revealed the basic features of the grammar of a writing system even before its linguistic decipherment.

1.4. Parallelisms will be valid only if the material used for comparison is relevant. Comparisons are proposed here on the basic assumption that the material relevant to an understanding of the Proto-Indian inscriptions must be primarily Dravidian. Thus the apparently votive inscriptions found on the 'tiny' seals and prisms at the lower levels of Harappa may be compared with the

earliest extant Dravidian votive texts in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions. The Proto-Indian seal texts may be compared with the earliest seal and coin legends in the Dravidian languages. The Proto-Indian graffiti stand comparison with those found on the megalithic pottery in South India (B. B. Lal, 1960)[3]. The seal-texts which presumably consist mostly of names and titles can be usefully compared with Dravidian name-lists compiled from the earliest available sources like the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, the poems and the colophons in the Tamil 'Sangam' works and from the vast material in the mediæval temple inscriptions. The names of Dravidian tribes and the non-Aryan ethnic names preserved in early sanskrit literature also constitute valuable comparative material. Since archaeological evidence tells us that the Proto-Indian polity was highly organized and well-administered, it is particularly useful to collect and study the technical terminology employed in Dravidian civic administration and palace and temple organizations. The myths and legends embodied in Dravidian literature and the oral tribal traditions may tell us much about the scenes portrayed on some of the Proto-Indian seals. Lastly, the survival of the Proto-Indian script signs themselves can be looked for in the symbolisms of later Indian tradition, as in the iconography of the Hindu deities, the insignia of the priestly and the royal families and the totemistic symbols of Dravidian tribes.

1.5. One of the criticisms levelled against the methods of decipherment developed by the Soviet and the Finnish scholars is that there are too many choices available at too many levels to inspire confidence in the correctness of any of them. Choices have to be made in he interpretation of the pictorial and the positional values of the signs and in the selection of homophones. The method of parallels can help in narrowing down the choices and increasing the degree of probability until more and more parallels are thrown up which cannot all be reasonably ascribed to mere coincidence or clever contrivance.

1.6. Having regard to the time at my disposal, I shall only be able to illustrate the method of parallelisms with just two examples of signs in the Proto-Indian script which can be demonstrated to be nominal suffixes on the basis of of syntactic parallels from ancient Dravidian inscriptions[4]

2. *The 'far' symbol* : 

2.1. This is the most familiar symbol in the Proto-Indian script. Previous work in the field has already established the following positional and functional charcteristics of the symbol :

(1) It is the most frequently used symbol in the script. According to

the preliminary statistical data released by the Finnish team, the symbol occurs 873 times in 1944 inscriptions comprising 9147 total occurrences of all the symbols[5]. Thus almost one-tenth of the total material is accounted for by this single symbol.

(2) The most marked characteristic of the symbol is its terminal position at the end of the inscriptions. Kondratov has estimated that about thirty per cent of all the inscriptions end with this symbol[6]. The Finnish count of 627 final occurrences[7] (32.25 per cent of the number of inscriptions) is in close agreement with the Soviet estimate.

(3) The symbol acts as a terminal sign even when it occurs in the middle of the texts. This was noticed by Gadd and Smith at the time of the first tabulation of the symbols and was rigorously demonstrated by Hunter and more recently by the Soviet and the Finnish teams[8].

(4) The symbol is found affixed to single signs or well-defined groups of signs which appear by themselves to be complete words as shown by Hunter[9]. Kondratov has counted 146 different recurring 'blocks' or polygrammes with this symbol in the final position[10].

(5) The symbol occurs occasionally (12 times according to the Finnish team) at the beginning of the Inscriptions[11].

2.2. The behaviour of the symbol as a suffix suggested to more than one scholar the possibility that it could be an inflectional case-ending, possibly the genitive. All the three previous attempts at decipherment within the Dravidian framework, viz., those of Heras and the Soviet and the Finnish scholars, have proposed variants of the Dravidian genitive or oblique case-morphemes as linguistic equivalents of the sign in question[12]. However comparisons with the earliest extant Dravidian texts in similar contexts (name-lists, votive inscriptions, legends on coins, etc.) show that the observed frequency and distribution characteristics of the sign are not matched by those of the Dravidian genitive suffixes. The Tamil-Brāhmī insciptions, in marked contrast with the Prākrit votive texts, do not have even a single instance of a final genitive suffix. The ancient Tamil coin-legends, again in sharp contrast with the Prākrit and Sanskrit coin-legends, give the names of the rulers in the nominative case. The Dravidian genitive is, more often than not, implicit even in the medial positions in a sentence—the so-called zero genitive. Hence the 'jar' sign, which is known to occur three times in a text[13] of six symbols (in the initial, medial and final positions) and which ends nearly a third of all the seal-texts, is most unlikely to be the Dravidian genitive suffix.

2.3. It appears possible to identify the sign on the basis of the method of parallels by making the following assumptions :

1) Judging from our knowledge of seals used by contemporary ancient civilizations, it is reasonable to suppose that the bulk of the seal-texts would consist of names and titles with perhaps some minimal information relating to religious or economic activity.
2) As the language of the texts appears to be Dravidian, the names and titles would be mostly in the nominative case, invariably so at the end of the texts.
3) The most likely hypothesis which fits in best with the observed frequency, distribution and functions of the symbol would be to regard it as an integral element affixed to personal names and titles, generally as a suffix, but occasionally as a prefixed element.
4) The best method to identify the value of the symbol would be to search for parallels among the most ancient extant lists of Dravidian personal names and titles in order to identify any frequently recurring element with positional and functional characteristics matching those of the symbol and connected with it by a suitable homophone.

2.4. The Dravidian material chosen for the comparative study are :

(1) *The Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions*[14] : These inscriptions are dated from the Third or the Second Century B.C., and are the most ancient lithic records extant in any Dravidian language. Their votive context, their contents confined mostly to names and titles and their brevity make them the ideal linguistic material for the present comparison.

(2) *The name-lists of Tamil 'Saṅgam' poets*[15] : About 473 names of poets have been preserved in the colophons to the poems of the 'Saṅgam' Age, datable to the first three or four centuries of the Christian Era. The names represent an almost complete cross-section of the ancient Tamil society and include those of princes and commoners, men and women, and persons belonging to various clans and professions. There is little doubt that the names (which are among the most conservative elements in any language) represent a tradition going back much farther than the dates of the composition and the compilation of these poems.

2.5. The most frequently recurring element in the formation of Old Tamil names turns out to be *aN*, the masculine singular pronominal suffix of the Third Person, meaning, 'he, that man'. The evidence on this point is conclusive.

2.6. The Corpus of the Tamil Brāhmī inscriptions contains 98 composite personal names and titles, in which the suffix - *aN* occurs 99 times. Twenty out of the 74 inscriptions (excluding two *akṣara-bandhas*) i.e. about 27 per cent, end with - *aN* in the final positions ; (verbal forms ending in - *āN* / *oN* are

not included in this count). In a number of composite names, the suffix - *aN* occurs twice or even thrice, e.g., *maṇi-y vaṇṇakkaN tēvaN cāttaN* (TBI, 72).

2.7. A random sampling of the first one hundred composite names from the alphabetical list of the 'Saṅgam' poets yields similar results. The suffix *-aN* occurs 82 times in these names. The suffix occurs 61 times in the final position (ignoring the honorific - *ār*, conventionally added in the colophons to the poets' names). The relatively high proportion of the suffix in the final position is doubtless due to the fact that while these are purely name-lists, the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (and, presumably, the Proto-Indian seal-texts) often contain in the final position the names of the objects owned or gifted. Again many of the composite names in the list of poets contain the suffix - *aN* twice or thrice, e.g. *Iṭaiya N cēntaN koRRaN*-(*ār*).

2.8. In the light of this evidence from the nearest parallels, it seemed reasonable to suppose as a provisional working hypothesis, that the symbol in question probably represents the Proto-Dravidian equivalent of the masculine singular pronominal suffix of the Third Person (*-aN*, in Tamil).

2.9. Pronominal suffixes of the type - *aN* are derived from *a* - (DED.1), the demonstrative base expressing the remoter person or thing. Comparison of the forms Ta. *avaN* ('he, that man') etc., grouped under DED.1 enables us to reconstruct PDr. **-anR*. From a related series also formed from the demonstrative *a-*, e.g., *ata* (ka.), *atanu* (Te.,), etc., we can reconstruct **ant-*. The old Tamil equivalent, recently recovered from the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions is *a(n) tai*, literally meaning 'he, that man', but used as a honorific affix (both prefixed and suffixed) with male personal names. We can set up at the PDr level **anR* to represent both the series of pronominal affixes.

2.10. The identification of the sign as the masculine singular pronominal affix of the Third Person used as a honorific with male personal names and titles explains satisfactorily the high frequency of the sign and its normal terminal position in seal-texts presumably consisting mostly of male names and titles. This identification also explains the multiple occurrences of the symbol in the same text. While the pronominal honorific was normally suffixed, there are a number of attested cases in the Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (e.g., TBI. 13) where it is found in the initial position. There is, to my knowledge, no other recurring element in Dravidian name-formation which can so remarkably match the observed frequency, distribution and functional characteristics of the symbol under discussion.

2.11. The pictogram seems to suggest some kind of a vessel with handles or pronounced rim or lip at the mouth and a tapering bottom. The following etyma denoting several types of vessels of a generally similar form suggest them-

selves as good homophones for comparison with **anR*- :

DED.110 : *aṇṭai* (Ta.) : squirt ; *aṇḍe* (Ka., Tu.) : vessel made of hollow bamboo, etc., generally with a handle ; *aṇḍy* (Ko.) : milk-pot, bamboo pot ; *aḍy* (To.) : clay-pot ;

DED. 107, 109 : *aṇḍige* (Ka.) : one pannier ; *aṇḍemu*, *aṇḍiyamu* (Te.) : id. ; *aṇḍu* (Ka.) : bottom of a vessel ; Ta. Lex. : *aṇṭai* (Ta.) : an ancient weight (Measure ?).

2.12. The following etyma having the general meaning 'male, elder person' appear to be connected with the pronominal honorific **anR*-, meaning 'he, that man' :-

DED. 111 : *aṇḍra* (Kui.) : a male ; *aṇḍrā* (Kur.) : male (of animals) ; *aṇḍyā* (Kur.) : a haughty man ; *aṇḍren* (Pe., Mand.) : male, man ; *aṇḍīra* (Skt., lex.) : a male.

DED. 2494 : *tantai* (Ta.) : father ; *taṇḍri* (Te.) : id. etc.

2.13. The following personal, clan and dynastic names of Dravidian rulers are perhaps ultimately derived from the honorific usage of the pronominal affix **anR*- :

aṇṭiran : a personal name of Āy, a Vēḷ Chieftain (PuRam., 129) ;

aṇṭar : clan name of chieftains of cow-herds, (Akam., 59) ;

andhra (Pkt., *andha*) name of Āndhra Kings and the tribe.

3. *The 'arrow' symbol* 

3.1. The main characteristics of this symbol are its position as a terminal sign and its functional similarity with the 'jar' symbol. Both the symbols function as terminal signs not only at the end of texts but also in medial positions. In the quasi-final positions, both are followed by the same set of single variable signs. The preceding symbols or sequences can be shown to be complete words by themselves, probably names and titles. There is, therefore, reason to believe that the 'arrow' symbol, like its functional twin, the 'jar' symbol, is also an integral suffix used in name-formations as suggested by Hunter[16]. He was, however, mistaken in thinking that the sequences preceding the two signs are mutually exclusive. Subsequent discoveries have shown that there are several sequences which can end with either of these two signs.

3.2. The Soviet and the Finnish scholars regard the 'arrow' sign as inflectional or case ending on account of its terminal position and its alternation with the 'jar' sign[17]. Since, however, it has been suggested here that the 'jar' sign is a suffix used in Dravidian name-formation, it appears likely that the 'arrow' sign

also fulfils a similar function.

3.3. It is *prima facie* likely that the 'arrow' sign represents another grammatical category, say, the plural or the non-masculin suffix. However the common sequences preceding the two signs make it unlikely that the suffixes represent mutually exclusive grammatical categories. The dominant 'fish' signs which appear in the bulk of names and titles more often have the 'arrow' sign than the 'jar' sign as their suffixes. This makes it unlikely that the 'arrow' sign represents the feminine ('non-masculine') gender. Thus it appears that the 'arrow' symbol represents another and less frequent element in the formation of Dravidian personal names and titles.

3.4. The comparative statistical data relating to the two symbols are instructive. According to Kondratov, the number of blocks ending with the 'jar' and the 'arrow' symbols is respectively 146 and 48 (approximately 3:1). He also calculates that the percentage of inscriptions ending with either symbol is respectively 30 and 7 (4.5 : 1)[18]. According to the Finnish team, the total occurrences of the two symbols are respectively 873 and 146 (approximately 6:1)[19].

3.5. It seems possible to interpret the symbol through the method of parallelisms as illustrated in the case of the 'jar' symbol. The Dravidian linguistic material chosen for comparative study was subjected to a formal analysis to identify any recurring nominal element with characteristics matching those of the 'arrow' symbol. It turns out that the nominal endings occuring most frequently with old Tamil personal names and titles, next to the pronominal suffixes, are *-ai* and *-i* which may be considered together. The comparative statistics are as follows :-

Names and titles occuring in :	Pronominal suffix (*-aN*)	Nominal endings (*-i, ai*)	Approximate ratio
Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions (98 names)	99	31	3 : 1
Alphabetical list of 'Saṅgam' poets (first 100 names)	82	33	2.5 : 1

The parallel is close enough to suggest that if the 'jar' symbol represents the pronominal honorific (*-aN, -ant-* in Ta.), then the 'arrow' symbol is likely to represent the Dr. nominal endings (*-i, -ai* in Ta.).

3.6. The archaic use of the independent suffixes *-i, -y* and *-iy* occurring in

the earliest Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions should be specially noted ; (e.g.) *Kaṇi-i* (TBI, 3) ; *kaṇi-y* (TBI, 1) ; *tantai-y* (TBI, 2) ; *kāviti-iy* (TBI, 3) and *vaLutti-iy* (TBI, 1). We may, therefore, expect to find, after the names and titles occurring in the seal-texts, a nominal suffix corresponding to TBI *-i(y)* and *-a-i(y)*, (PDR **-ay/-ey*).

3.7. It is easy to recognize the object in the pictogram. It is an arrow or a spear-head. Large numbers of copper and bronze spear-heads have been recovered from the sites of the Proto-Indian cities. The recognition of the object in the pictogram as arrow or spear and the probable use of the symbol as a nominal suffix immediately suggest the following etyma with the meanings, "arrow, to shoot (as an arrow), to throw (as a spear), etc." DED. 691 : *ey*, *ē* (Ta.) ; *ey-*, *iy-* (Ko.) ; *āyu* (Te.) ; etc.

4. *Evidence* :

4.1. The identifications proposed in this paper are tentative. However the following parallelisms from later Indian tradition seem to lend some support to the identifications.

4.2. It can be established from purely formal analysis that the 'jar' symbol functions as a suffix at the end of what are most probably names and titles on the seal texts. This deduction is quite independent of any phonetic value or meaning that may be proposed for the sign. It may be assumed that the names and titles occurring on the seals would mostly be those of the ruling classes. There is some archaeological evidence that the Proto-Indian civilization was ruled by a priestly oligarchy. "The general indication of a combined kingly and priestly rule fits the habit of the Third Millennium" (Wheeler, 1966). It is, therefore, significant that 'jar' names and 'jar' legends occur in later Indian tradition among priestly and ruling classes.

4.3. The legend of the 'jar-Born' sages is indeed very ancient and is even found in the Rigveda (VII : 33), where it is said that Vasiṣṭha and Agastya were generated by Mitra and Varuṇa from a jar. Consequently Agastya was known as Kumbhayoni, Kumbha-sambhava and by other synonymous names and Vasiṣṭha was called *Kuṇḍina* ('the vessel'). A very similar story[20] is told in respect of Droṇa (whose name also means a 'vessel').

4.4. Two significant aspects of these 'jar' legends merit attention as they both seem to indicate that the myth has a Dravidian origin.

4.5. The myth of miraculous birth from a jar was shared by the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas, or rather by the families which were *both* Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya by tradition. Vasiṣṭha was called Devarāj. Agastya was the reputed leader of the southern migration of the Vēḷir clan which gave rise to many south-

ern ruling dynasties[21]. The Vēḷir chieftains seem to have had sacerdotal origin. (It is instructive to compare O. Ta. *vēḷ* : 'a chieftain' with the verb *vēḷ* 'to sacrifice'). Droṇa, the Brāhmaṇa preceptor of the Kurus, was also the ruler of North Pāñcāla. The Āndhras traced their descent from the vedic sages as indicated by their matronymics like Vāsiṣṭhīputra, etc., and styled themselves as *eka-brāhmaṇa* in their inscriptions. The Pallavas, the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Bṛhatphalāyanas belonged to Brāhmanical gotras[22].

4.6. It is sometimes considered that the existence of the Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya families indicated greater mobility among the varṇas in the early Indo-Aryan society. However the discovery of a pre-Aryan and probably Dravidian civilization ruled over by a priestly oligarchy provides a new explanation of the phenomenon. It now appears likely that the Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya or priest-ruler tradition is pre-Aryan and possibly a survival of Proto-Indian priest-rule.

4.7. The second aspect of the 'jar' legends worthy of notice is their special association with the Dravidian South. They were current among many Dravidian dynasties like the Vēḷir, the Pallavas and the Cālukyas. The Brāhmanical sages Agastya and Vasiṣṭha (=Devarāj/Kuṇḍina) with whom the 'jar' legends are associated are the ones especially popular with South Indian and Dravidian tradition[23].

4.8. The occurrence of the 'jar' symbol in the Proto-Indian seal-texts seems to provide a clue to the ultimate origin of the 'jar' legends. The 'jar' symbol was connected, probably through homonymy, with the priest-rulers of the Proto-Indian civilization. When the memory of the pictographic script was lost, the 'jar' sign continued to be associated with the priestly and the ruling classes of the composite Hindu society and became a symbol around which myths grew up. In a parallel development the Dravidian honorific - **anR*, homophonous with a 'vessel' word, was borrowed into Sanskrit in the latter sense at various periods in different translations, as personal and family names of the priestly and the ruling classes.

4.9. The 'arrow' symbol had also a similar development. The Vēḷir clan was also known as Evvi[24] ($< *ey$) which seems to be connected with the symbolism of the arrow. A popular suffix for the names of the Yādavas (who are connected in tradition with the Āndhras and the Vēḷir)[25] was *-sēna*, or 'spear', probably to be traced to the pictographic sign which depicted a spear-head or arrow.

4.10. Finally attention may be drawn to a frequent di-graph consisting of the 'fish' and the 'arrow' signs in the seal-texts. From positional analysis it can be inferred that the di-graph represents an important name or title, probably the generic name of the ruling priestly class. According to my interpretation[26],

the digraph approximately corresponds to **miṇ/ḷ-ey*. The term **miḷey* may be compared with O. Ta, *mīḷi*, *miḷai*: 'Chieftain' (lit., 'the shining one') and also with Skt. *mleccha* (Probably < **miḷ-ec*), the name by which the indigenous people were known to the early Indo-Aryans. Here we seem to have evidence for a very early loan-word from Dravidian into Sanskrit.

NOTES

1. (i) Knorozov Yu. V., et al., *Predvaritel noe soobsh chenie ob issledovnii Proto-Indiiskikh tekstov*, Moscow (1965), translated (partly) in *Soviet studies on Harappan Script*, by H. C. Pande, ed. by Henry Field and Edith M. Laird, Florida (1969) (cited, 'Soviet Studies') ;
   (ii) Knorozov, Yu. V., et al., *Proto-Indica* : 1968 ;
   (iii) Parpola, A., et al., *Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus civilization : A first announcement ; Progress in the decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian script ;* And *Further Progress in the Indus script decipherment*, Copenhagen (1969-70) (cited respectively as '*First announcement*', '*Progress*', and '*Further Progress*').
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18. *Soviet Studies*, p. 10.
19. *First Announcement*, p. 19
20. *Mahābhārata*, I : 130
21. NacciNārkkiNiyār on *Tolkāppiyam* : *Pāyiram* ; *Poruḷ*, 32
22. "The Bhāradvaja Pallavas were not the only Brāhmaṇas who adopted the military career in those days in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. There were the Gautamas, Vasiṣṭhas, Kaṇvas, Kauṇḍinyas, Haritas, and the Mānavyas of the earlier epoch who intermarried with the reigning dynasty and other ruling families in the Śātavāhana period. The history of Āndhra up to the middle of the Seventeenth Century abounds in instances where Brāhmaṇas adopted the military career" — B. Venkatakrishna Rao, *A History of the Early Dynasties of Āndhradēśa*, Madras (1942) p. 148, n. 3.
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24. *PuRam.*, 24, 202 etc. It is interesting that the titles Evvi and AṇtiraN were borne by the same Chieftain Vēḷ Āy providing parallels for both the nominal suffixes under discussion.
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ARCHAEOLOGY AND EPIGRAPHY IN TAMIL NADU

A survey of Recent Developments

R. NAGASWAMY

Excavation : Prehistoric Archaeology:

Considerable progress has been made in the field of archaeological excavation in the Tamil country in the past few years. Specific problems dealing with one or other aspects of South Indian prehistory have been taken up for investigation.

The prehistory branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, under the direction of Dr. R. D. Banerjee, carried out (1962-69) some detailed investigations of the early stone age sites of the Tamil country, along the eastern coast from Madras to Nellore. This has yielded very valuable results.

"Four distinct peneplains have been recognized between the low ranges of Satyav du, Nagalapuram, Nagari, and Vellikonda hills and the present coastline between Madras and Nellore. These peneplains cut through different geological formations and are not localized phenomena. On the other hand a chain of these series can be seen cutting through late tertiary and early pleistocene coastal faultings. The earliest possible date for the topmost peneplain can, therefore, be the later part of the early pleistocene. This 73 M. peneplain formation, however, antedates the earliest paleolithic horizon in that area which can be fixed and correlated to the formation of the third (45 M.) peneplain. A period of comparatively more intense precipitation intervenes between the formation of two successive peneplains. These intensive precipitations have left this record in different pebble-flows and detrital fenginro laterite-flows. All these flows can be seen on the topmost peneplain.

The earliest industry found in this area is acheulean, already in an advanced stage and is characterized by the absence of any blade or as distinct from the later acheulean industries. The next acheulean industry is marked by the coming of long, thick and crude blades. These blades, however, show little or no retouches. The succeeding acheulean industry is marked by these blades with retouches. The succeeding industry, a post-acheulean flake and blade industry is primarily marked by the total absence of the acheulean type-tools of hand axes and cleavers and the presence of tools fashioned on blades. This industry does not show rigid standardization in shape and form of the tools. Points made on obliquely snapped blades are the type-tools of this industrial horizon".

Neolithic and Megalithic Periods:

The excavation at Payyampalli by Sri S.R. Rao, of the Archaeological Survey, sought to establish the relationship between the neolithic people and the megalithic people. *(Indian Archaeology* 1964-65; 66-67; 67-68*)*. The excavation revealed two periods, period I assigned to 1390 ± 200 B.C. and period II to 315 ± 100 B.C. (Carbon C.14 dating). The excavation established the absence of metal in period I, which was characterized by the presence of dwelling pits, lined with stones along the edges. Post holes along the periphery suggested the existence of thatched superstructure. Pale grey and red ware of the neolithic people was also found. The excavation seems to suggest that the neolithic people were succeeded by the megalithic people at Payyampalli. Whether it is a pointer to such a succession throughout South India or is a regional phenomenon is yet to be determined by further excavations.

Historic Period :

1) KAVIRIPUMPATTINAM

Excavations have been conducted at important historical sites of Tamilnadu, such as KāviripūmpaṭṭiNam, Uraiyūr and KoRkai. The excavation at KāviripūmpaṭṭiNam by the Archaeological Survey (*Indian Archaeology* 1962-63; 63-64; 64-65) has brought to light three significant structures, viz. wharf, a water reservoir and a Buddha vihāra. The wharf, characterized by the presence of a series of wooden posts has been dated by C 14 dating to 3rd Century B.C. The Buddha vihāra is assigned to the 4th Century A.D.

The Prākṛt texts *Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Buddhavamsāttakathā*, written by Buddhadatta refer to a Buddha vihāra with enclosures and turrets erected by a certain noble named Kaṇadāsa, at KāviripūmpaṭṭiNam. Buddhadatta states that he wrote *Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Buddavamsāttakathā* while residing at a cool and pleasant part of the vihāra. He was a contemporary of Acyutavikrānta of the Kaḷabhra dynasty then ruling the CōLa country. The Prākṛt texts are assigned to the end of the 4th century A.D. It is not unlikely that the Buddha-vihāra now unearthed at KāviripūmpaṭṭiNam is the one built by Kaṇadāsa where Buddhadatta lived in the reign of Acyutavikrānta. Further excavations have not been continued as a modern dwelling is found over the vihāra portion. The Government has taken steps to acquire land and it is hoped that future excavations will throw further light on the history of this once glorious city.

2) URAIYUR :

The Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology of the University of Madras under Dr. T.V. Mahalingam has conducted excavations so far

at three places namely 1. Tirukāmpuliyūr (I.A. 1961-63) 2. Alakarai (63-64) and 3. Uraiyūr ('64-68). The excavations at Tirukāmpuliyūr and Alakarai yielded a few sherds with Damili inscriptions. The excavation at Uraiyūr has yielded a large number of inscribed potsherds, paleographically assignable from 1st Century B.C. to 2nd Century A.D.

A brick structure resembling a dyeing vat, also noticed at Arikkamēṭu was found at Uraiyūr. It was probably used for dyeing cloths. That Uraiyūr was famous for its cotton industry in early times is known both from Tamil literature and foreign notices. Besides these, rouletted wares were also found in this area and the excavation according to Dr. Mahalingam indicates a change in the course of the river Kāviri during the 6th, 7th Century A.D. A number of holes, 15 to 20 cm. in diameter, filled with sand, charcoal and ashes were also found. The excavator considers that these holes were associated with some kind of ritual like the *garuḍa citi*. Since a *Citi* is a sacrificial altar in one or other form, built of piled up bricks, the postholes probably represent a structure on poles.

3) KORKAI

KoRkai, the ancient port of the Pāṇḍyas, mentioned as such in Sangam literature and the notices of the classical geographers like Ptolemy, was excavated in 1968-69) by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology under the direction of Tiru R. Nagaswamy, State Director, with a view to assess its archaeological importance.

KoRkai was excavated a hundred years ago by Rev. Dr. R. Caldwell, who first drew the attention of scholars to the importance of the place in the history of Tamilnadu. *(Indian Antiquary, March* 1877). Regarding his excavation at KoRkai he has the following to say : "The Geology of the place seemed to me more interesting than its antiquities. I hoped by making excavations in KoRkai and the neighbourhood, to find some traces of the Greeks but in this I was doomed to be disappointed. The ancient level of the village is about eight feet below its present level, which of itself is a proof of great antiquity. When the diggers reached this depth they invariably found traces of human habitations, sherds of Indian pottery, etc., but nothing of the nature I hoped to find.... The most interesting things that were found were three of those mysterious sepulchral urns which have hitherto puzzled everybody.... Two of the urns I found contained no bones, but only traces of bone dust ; but one, a monster urn — 11 feet in circumference — unfortunately found broken, contained a complete set of entire human bones including a perfect skull".

The present excavation by the State Department yielded urn-burials. The urn contained no bone or other funerary object. A brick structure overlying a

ring-well (probably a soakage jar) was found. A large number of inscribed pot-sherds bearing inscriptions dating back to 1st Century B. C. to 2nd Century A.D. have been found. Soakage jars placed one over the other, in clusters, have also been unearthed. This is the first time that the soakage jars are found in the Tamil Country. The excavation also yielded, besides megalithic pottery a rare piece of polished sherd. Some experts are of the opinion that this sherd is a variety of Northern Black Polished Ware associated with the Mauryas. If this is so, it is the first time that an N.B.P. Ware has been discovered in Tamil-nadu. So far N.B.P. has been reported only up to the Nellore region. This would also indicate the contact of the Tamils with the Mauryas. But there are other experts who hold this to be a special type of Rouletted Ware. Since experts differ, further excavations would probably throw more light on the subject. Conch shells in various phases of cutting used in the manufacture of shell bangles, have been found in large numbers, pointing to the flourishing shell industry in this area. Pearl oysters have also been found in large numbers during the excavation ; these unmistakably show the importance of the site as a principal pearl fishery of the Sangam era. Further excavations will be continued during the coming season.

4) KANCI

The Archaeological Survey of India excavated a small area inside the compound of the Śaṅkarācārya Maṭh at Kāñcī, under the Direction of Dr. R. Subramaniam. The excavations showed the continuous occupation of the site from almost the Megalithic Period. A Śāthavāhana coin of Śrī Rudra (*Indian Archaeology*, 1962-63) found during the excavations suggests the influence of Śāthavāhana rule over this region during the 2nd century A.D. A large number of storage jars as found at Arikamēṭu, have been unearthed.

Explorations at the mouth of Pālār

An ancient site was located at the mouth of the Pālār in a place called Vasavasamudram, about eight miles south of Māmallapuram. The village lies a furlong from the coast where the Pālār empties itself into the sea. The site yielded an amphora, a large number of storage jars, Rouletted Ware, drainage pipes, large-sized bricks and other assemblages, as found at Arikamēṭu.

The site, brought to the notice of the public by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, is of great significance. Kāñcī, the famous city, is located on the banks of the Vegavatī, a tributary of the Pālār. Kāñcī was spoken of in ancient times as a port. Its access to the sea is through the river Pālār, at the mouth of which the present village is located. It is therefore, evident that

this was an entrepot, connecting Kāñcī with the rest of the world, from the beginning of the Christian era.

Vayalūr, about a mile and a half from Vasavasamudram and situated on the banks of the Pālār, carries an inscription of the Pallava ruler Rājasimha in which his rule over far off islands like the Laccadives is mentioned. Thus, this place should have continued to hold an important position during the rule of the Pallavas.

As the land owner was putting his land into use and in the process was destroying valuable evidences, the Government of Tamilnadu, permitted this department to carry out an emergency excavation at this site. A number of trenches were laid at various points as the site was much disturbed. The excavation revealed that the site was occupied, for a short period, by a group of people who carried similar culture as found at Arikamēṭu late period. The neck of an amphora, a few pieces of Rouletted Ware found here are decidedly foreign, probably of Mediterranean origin. The conical storage jars Rouletted Wares of decidedly local make, both handmade and wheel turned potsherds, found here are identical with similar finds at Arikamēṭu. The excavation also yielded two ring wells running to a depth of about 4 meters, as found at Arikamēṭu during Casal's excavation. Some drainage pipes and a few large sized bricks have also been unearthed. According to the land-owner, there existed a brick-lined wat, with drainage pipes. This, however, could not be traced. No larger scale structure as found at Arikamēṭu was noticed here. Heaps of lime shells are found in the area. The excavation indicates the occupation of this site by a small isolated group of people, having some commercial contact with Mediterranean. The excavation has proved the importance of the site in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. The present village is about one mile from the Pālār river. Detailed excavation nearer to the mouth of the river is sure to yield good results.

Study of monuments :

The Archaeological Survey has undertaken a survey of temples with a view to survey and study temple architecture. With this survey, a study of iconography has also been undertaken. Considerable progress has been made and the survey of the temples of the Pallavas has been completed and the first part dealing with the cave temples by Śrī K.R. Śrinivasan has since been published. Detailed plans and illustrations have been added which make this series a valuable one. The Madras University is encouraging its research students to take one or other monumental temple or connected subjects for research degrees. Two or three valuable temples have since been covered. The Government of Tamilnadu, under a plan to publish authoritative monographs on the temples

of Tamilnadu, has prepared monographs on two important temples, KaNNyākumarī and Śrivilliputtūr. A number of individual scholars, and foreign Universities, are taking keen interest in the subject. Dr. J.C. Harle of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has done an excellent study of the *Temple Gateways of South India*, with particular reference to the Cidambaram towers. The Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology has brought out publications on the temples of Tamilnadu. The American Academy of Benāras, is compiling an encyclopaedia of South Indian Architecture, which, it is said, is nearing completion. The French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, is doing a survey of the little known ancient temples of Tamilnadu.

It must be admitted that, in spite of such great enthusiasm, much remains to be done yet. No authoritative monograph on even such monumental temples like the great temple of Tañjāvūr is now available.

The studies in the architecture of the Pallavas, initiated by great savants like Fergusson, Hultsch, Jouveau-Dubreuil, Longhurst, T. A. Gopinatha Rao and others remained static after the publications of the late Dr. Meenakshi. Interest has been revived by the publication of an article by the present writer on the authorship of Māmallapuram in which a new orientation was given for the study of Pallava art. The paper established with the help of inscriptions, that Rājasimha the builder of the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcī, was the sole author of the Māmallapuram monuments and there are no valid grounds to assign them to Narasimha I. A number of scholars are now engaged in the study of these monuments, with the result that the literature on this subject is steadily growing.

Monuments and Tamil Literature :

However it must be admitted that no efforts have been made to co-ordinate various sister disciplines to realize more fruitful results. While there are some who refuse to give any credence to literature in the study of monuments, scholars steeped in literary tradition are yet to take interest in the monuments. While literature is likely to contain poetic exaggeration they still reflect mainly the thoughts and life of the contemporary society and no effort should be spared to utilize these sources in the study of monuments. For example the two epics *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkaḷai*, are full of references to art and architectural forms, like *Cetiya*, *Paṅkaya Pīṭika* etc., which are found in the sculptures and inscriptions of Amāravatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. No attempt has so far been made to study these literatures and monuments which will throw light not only on art forms, but also on the dates of the epics.

A number of inscribed hero stones erected to honour heroes who died on

various fields are found in Tamilnadu. The *Tolkāppiyam* and the *PuRapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai*, detail the various exploits of kings and heroes and bring them under different categories, as *Vetci, Karantai, Nocci, ULiñai, Kāñcī, Vañci* and *Tumpai* and the erection of *Naṭukal* on the death of heroes in any of the actions. While this literary tradition is well understood, very few are aware of the existence of edifices commemorating one or other such heroic acts. In fact, hero stones commemorating all these *tiṇai* are found in Tamilnadu. What is interesting, the same terms used in Tamil literature are found employed in inscriptions. A proper study of these *Naṭukal* will facilitate scholars to understand Tamil literature and likewise without a study of literature, it is not possible to interpret the hero stones properly. For example, a record dealing with cattle lifting operations deals, according to Tamil tradition, with a preparation for war and not with actual invasion as is being explained hitherto.

The Rôle of Āgamas :

The monumental temples and the sculptures that adorn them are religious edifices, built to suit devotional rituals. A number of works guiding the affairs of the temple rituals exist. These texts are called Āgamas or *Tantra.* The origin and development of Āgamas is a fascinating subject that yet awaits careful study. When the Vedic Aryans entered India, they are said to have slowly imbibed the rituals of the Dravidians. According to traditions the Āgamas hold equal validity with the Vedas. Though many alterations and additions have crept in and a number of schools and sub-schools have come into existence during the course of centuries, the core of Āgamic literature must have been compiled in the late-Vedic period, if not earlier. In Tamilnadu proper, the Āgamic traditions, supplemented by *Vāstu* texts, have been the main source of inspiration for monumental architecture. Our understanding of the monuments would be imperfect without a detailed study of these texts. Eminent scholars like T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Dr. Stella Kramrisch and others have done monumental service in the field, in spite of non-availability of published texts. The French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, has undertaken the publication of these texts and must be complimented for its great service to the study of South Indian monuments. Prof. J. Filliozat has rightly pointed out in his address to the 2nd International Conference of Tamil Studies, the necessity to study Tamil and Sanskrit literatures of Tamilnadu and the co-operation of specialists in the field.

At this stage it is necessary to point out how the study of Āgamas betters our understanding of monuments. The monuments at Māmallapuram are well known. A careful study of the monuments by the present writer, has

revealed that these monuments are carved to suit the Āgamic needs. The important sculptures on the Dharmarāja ratha occupy positions prescribed by the Āgamas. Thus Ardhanāri and Subrahmaṇya in the east, Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the south etc., are found as prescribed in the texts. In the third storey of the same *ratha* are seen images of Sūrya on the east wall and of Sōma on the north wall. The image of Sōma, identified by a halo behind his head, is the presiding deity of the northern quarter. He is portrayed along with other dikpālās, on the vimānas of Tañjāvūr and Gaṅgaikoṇṭacōḻapuram.

The presence of Sōma and Sūrya, on the Dharmarāja *ratha*, unmistakably indicates the role of Āgamas in monumental buildings.

In the Varāha and Ādivarāha caves, Lakṣmī and Durgā images are found carved to the left and right of the sanctum. According to the texts these deities should be placed in *vāma* or *dakṣiṇa* walls. The same positions occupied by Durgā and Lakṣmī in a number of monuments are evidently after Āgamic texts.

Further the *Marīci samhitā* states that in Viṣṇu temples Brahmā should be placed facing north and Śiva as Gaṅgādhara placed facing south. In the Ādivarāha cave of Māmallapuram, Brahmā and Gaṅgādhara Śiva are found as prescribed in the Āgamas. Thus it is evident that these are temples caused to be made as per the then available Āgamas. Fanciful theories are current on the monuments of Māmallapuram for want of proper study of literature that guided the spiritual monuments of the time.

It has been held that detailed planning of the temples and the drawing of the diagram, called *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* before the temple was erected, and the distribution of subsidiary and directional deities (called *vāstu pada devatā*) etc., in the temples, were fully developed in 10th-11th Centuries A.D. But a careful study of the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcī has revealed that *Vāstu* and Āgamic texts were well advanced and that the Kailāsanātha temple is the only earliest surviving temple in the whole of India, retaining all the deities in their positions as prescribed in the Āgamas. The drawing of *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* by the apparent emergence and setting of the sun is reflected in the Saṅgam literature. That temple rites were performed as per prescribed texts is also referred to in Saṅgam works like *Pattupāṭṭu* and *Paripāṭal*. These show not only the antiquity of Āgamic and *Vāstu* texts, but also the importance of their study for understanding the cultural history of the Tamils. It is in this field that the French Institute of Indology is rendering valuable service. The Tañjāvūr Sarasvatī Mahāl Library has also brought out a number of Vāstu and Śilpa texts, which place in the hands of scholars vast material for further research.

It is of interest to state that the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, has undertaken the publication of the *Uttaramērūr Pañcavarada māhātmya*, a

sthala purāṇa which is being released on the occasion of this conference. With a view to study the history and the monuments of Uttaramērūr, the French Institute undertook a study of this village in collaboration with the State Department of Archaeology, Tamilnadu. Dr. F. Gros, Director in-charge of the French Institute and myself have prepared the monograph on the village, leaving aside the two famous epigraphs of Parāntaka CōLa I, which deal with election to the village assembly, as they have been dealt with in details by a number of scholars. Other inscriptions of the village were carefully analysed. The study brought to light the layout of the village and an almost unbroken history of social, cultural and religious life of the people of Uttaramērūr, since the days of its foundation. The village was carefully planned and laid out according to Āgamic and Vāstu texts. A regular grid has been drawn for the entire village, which included a number of hamlets and cultivable and uncultivable lands. The temples, maṇḍapas, streets and roads were located as prescribed in Āgamic texts, and were named according to a thought out plan. The village was a Brāhmin settlement with Bhāgavata leaning. The following temples are in their proper locations in the village : Śiva temple in the north-east, Viṣṇu and Subrahmaṇya temples in the west, Durgā temple in the north, Jyeṣṭhā and Aiyanār temples in the south, Saptamāṭa temple in the north-east and the great *sabhā maṇḍapa* of the village in the middle.

Bhāgavata names as Brindāvana, Kurukṣetra, Citrakūṭa, Ayoḍhya, Puruṣoṭṭama, Tirumāliruñcōlai, Tiruvāypāṭi etc., are found as names of temples or maṇḍapas. The cēris are named after the 12 names of Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa as Keśava cēri, Nārāyaṇa cēri, Mādhava cēri, Govinda cēri, Viṣṇu cēri, Madhusūdana cēri, Tiruvikrama cēri, Vāmana cēri, Hṛṣīkeśa cēri, Padmanābha cēri, and Dāmōdara cēri. The canals are called after the names of other Gods, as Gaṇapati Vāykkāl, Subrahmaṇya Vāykkāl, Śrīdhara Vāykkāl, Śrīdēvī Vāykkāl Pārvatī Vāykkāl and Sarasvatī Vāykkāl. The road-ways are named after the titles of the ruling Pallava King, as Uttaramēru vadi, Abhimānamēru vadi, Vairamegha vadi, Pallava Nārāyaṇa vadi, Avaninārāṇa vadi, Tirunāraṇa vadi, Paramēśvara vadi, Mārpiṭugu vadi and Viḍēlviḍugu vadi. The Maṅgala vīthi, Nārācam and Gavyūti, referred to in early inscriptions, unmistakably show, that detailed planning according to Āgamas had gone into the making of the village. It has also been shown by Śrī V. Ganapathi Sthapati of Māmallapuram that Sundaravarada temple was built according to *Marīci samhitā*, a Vaikhānasa text. The study of inscriptions has also shown that the inhabitants have followed one or other texts like *smṛtis* in their daily life and day to day transactions. Thus the suggestion of Dr. Filliozat that specialists must work jointly in the field is beginning to yield fruitful results.

Scholars have been studying individual monuments of a place with reference to their architectural attainments. The present study shows, that all are to be studied together, which would throw valuable light not only on architectural evolution of the periods but also on the creative activities of the inhabitants for whom they were meant. More such village studies are expected in the future.

Not only the ritual treatises but also the devotional movements spearheaded by the Śaivite and the Vaiṣṇavite saints influenced the temples and their arts. A number of devotional hymns were taken as the *dhyāna Ślokas* and the images were carved accordingly. Even the names given in Tamil devotional verses have been adopted in preference to Śilpaic terms and are recorded in CōḶa inscriptions.

Iconographic Studies

It must, however, be admitted that not much progress has been made in the study of icons, after the pioneering work of T. A. Gopinatha Rao. The French Institute at Pondicherry has undertaken a series of publications on the iconography of select icons and so far has brought out five issues on the subject. The Institute has established itself as an advanced centre of Hindu iconographic studies. It has collected over 70,000 well documented photographs, arranged village and subject wise and makes them available for scholars. It is indeed a monumental work, worthy of emulation in other fields.

A few panels of early Pallava period have been noticed recently by the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology. They come mostly from Tondai-maṇḍalam region. The panels are small in size and carry a row of deities usually shown seated on a common pedestal. The deities thus represented are generally Brahmā, Śiva as liṅga, Pārvatī, Subrahmaṇya, Narasimha and Lakṣmī. Along with this an abstract deity, whose significance is so far not known. Such panels have been found at Munnūr, Maṇimaṅgalam, Madurāntakam, Ukkal, TeN-Nēri, Brahmatēsam, and Uttaramērūr. Whether these panels were enshrined in temples or maṇḍapas is yet a moot question. However it is evident that the worshippers of these panels were not sectarian in their religious faith and were able to adore Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva with equal devotion. The Pallavas often bore the titles Paramamahēśvara, Parama Brahmaṇya and Parama Bhāgavata. The presence of the sculptures indicate the religious harmony of the period.

The earliest sculptures so far noticed relate to the period of the Pallava monarch Mahēndravarman I (600 A.D.). But recently my attention was drawn by H. H. Śrī Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñcī Kāmakoti Pītha, to the existence of a few panel sculptures in a little known temple of Kāñcī. These sculptures are of remarkable beauty and represent dancers in various poses. Such sculptures

are said to be found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. These sculptures are to be assigned to Pre-Mahēndra period and are important to the study of South Indian Art.

Conservation :

Conservation of temples and monuments of Tamilnadu may be brought under two different headings, namely those conserved on archaeological principles and those that are carried out by the temple authorities to embellish the temples and to provide modern amenities to the pilgrims. The large-scale temple renovations carried out in 1960s brought in severe criticism on the way the valuable architectural work was tampered with. This however, had one salutary effect. Two UNESCO sponsored missions visited the Tamil country and aroused the consciousness of the public to safeguard the antiquarian value of these structures. The Government and the Hindu Religious Endowment Department have issued necessary instructions to the temples to prevent such alterations.

Two institutions namely the Archaeological Survey of India and the Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology are at present engaged in the Archaeological conservation of monuments in Tamilnadu. In recent years, the Archaeological Survey has taken up the conservation of the great temples of Tañjāvūr, GaṅgaikoṇḍacōLapuram and Dārāsuram. The Chemical Conservation Branch of the Survey has been doing valuable work in the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcī, where it has exposed two layers of paintings on sculptures, the earliest layer probably going back to the period of the Pallavas. The sculptures and other monuments at Māmallapuram, subjected to long weathering action, are also being treated chemically.

The Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology has undertaken the conservation of a few CōLa temples. It has completed the conservation of the GaṅgaikoṇṭacōLiśvara temple built by Rājendra I at KūLampantal near Kāñcī, and a Pre-Rājarāja temple (Chokkeśvara) at Kāñcī. Conservation on these temples has been done on scientific principles. Detailed photographs and measured drawings of each part were taken before conservation was undertaken. Detailed reports were prepared regarding the previous conditions and during the course of conservation. These photographs were utilized to guide the operations. The result has been extremely satisfactory and has received the admiration of foreign scholars, who had the opportunity to visit these monuments. This method is now establishing high standards in the field of conservation of Archaeological monuments.

Epigraphy : Work Done :

The study of Epigraphy has assumed greater popularity in recent times. The Epigraphy Department of the Archaeological Survey of India has copied over 25,000 inscriptions from various parts of Tamilnadu, the texts of about 6,000 of which have been published so far. These texts are the primary sources for reconstructing South Indian history.

At the instance of the University Grants Commission, the University of Madras has undertaken the preparation of a topographical list of inscriptions of South India. This survey takes into account the summaries of Inscriptions already published in the Annual Reports on Epigraphy and are arranged village wise, adding new information to the summaries wherever possible. The work has been going on for the past six years and is expected to be completed in due course. The Tamil History Academy drew up a plan of publishing a series of volumes on inscriptions of Tamilnadu, interpreting the inscriptions already published. It has brought out so far two volumes, consisting of the copper plates of the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas. Both the volumes give for the first time a complete Tamil rendering and interpretation of the copper plates dealt with. The academy's aim is to interpret and give a connected social, religious and cultural history of the Tamils.

It may be seen that in spite of long years of work by the Epigraphy Department of the Archaeological Survey only 6,000 out of 25,000 inscriptions have been printed so far. There are yet more than 20,000 to be printed. More inscriptions are yet to be copied from various parts of the country. With a view to accelerate the printing of inscriptions of Tamilnadu which will ultimately facilitate a proper study of the history and culture of the Tamil people, Tiru Saw. Ganeśan, who has an abiding interest in the field, brought out a proposal for the publication of inscriptions of Tamilnadu. The proposal envisages publication of inscriptions district wise, copying inscriptions village by village, verifying the inscriptions already copied by the Epigraphy Department and printing all inscriptions under a 10 years' plan. The Government accepted the proposal and sanctioned necessary staff and a small printing unit attached to the State Department of Archaeology to conduct the epigraphical survey and bring out the inscriptions.

The Madras city was taken on on experimental basis. Even fragmentary inscriptions were not left out. This has brought to light more than 200 inscriptions not so far copied by the Epigraphy Department. The Madras inscriptions have since been published. The district of KaNNyākumāri was taken up next for the survey and has been completed and the publications of inscriptions of that district is now under progress.

Thanks to the brilliant work done by Mr. I. Mahadevan in deciphering ancient Tamil inscriptions found in the caves, Tamil scholars are now evincing great interest in the study of ancient scripts and inscriptions. Mr.. I. Mahadevan's attempt to decipher all the cave inscriptions of Tamilnadu has met with brilliant success. Yet it must be admitted that there are many gaps yet to be filled up and the field is still open for further research.

For example, the Araccalūr inscription of TēvaN cāttaN, is read by Mr. I. Mahadevan as

ஏழுதானம் பண்வித்தான் மணிய்
வண்ணக்கன் தேவன் சாத்தன்

and the occurence of the word பண்வித்தான் is considered a late form. Dr. Mahalingam reads the inscriptions as,

தீத்தம் பூண தத்தான் மறைய்
வண்ணக்கன் ஆதன் சாத்தன்.

T.N. Ramachandran reads it as,

எழுத்தும் புணர்ந்தான் மணிய வண்ணக்கன்
ஆதன் சாத்தன்.

and suggested that Maṇiya VaṇṇakkaN was a dance master.

I agree with the reading of the Epigraphy department of the Government of India, who reads the epigraph as,

எழுத்துப் புணருத்தான் மணிய வண்ணக்கன்
தேவன் சாத்தன்.

I have drawn the attention of the scholars to the word *puṇaruttāN* used in a technical sense. *Puṇaruttal*, a colloquial form for *puṇartal*, i.e. composing of letters. (*Tolkāppiyam* — புணரியல்). In *Cilappatikāram* and its commentaries, the term is found invariably used with reference to musicians and dance masters, who are said to be experts in composing of letters to suit musical notation.

The Araccalūr epigraph is assigned to 2-3rd century A.D. as almost contemporary with *Cilappatikāram*. Thus it would turn out to be the earliest epigraph refering to musical notation in Tamilnadu. Similarly, the term *koṭṭupita*, occuring in a number of early epigraphs stands, according to me for "carving' or 'chiselling' and not 'gift' (Corpus of Inscription) for the earlier form is only

kuṭu for the term gift (கூ). The Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi inscription read as *peruparaṇaN* by I. Mahadevan, is according to me *peruntacaN*. This only suggests that the work on Damili inscriptions, must be continued, as Mahadevan has rightly pointed out in his recent article. However recent work, has created such tremendous interest in the country, that a large number of young girls from colleges braved the difficult mountain terrain of Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi to see the NeṭuñceLiyaN inscription during the recent Seminar on Archaeology, conducted under the joint auspices of the Madurai University and the State Department of Archaeology.

The discovery of Irulappaṭṭi hero-stones dating back to 4th-5th century A.D., is a land mark in the history of Tamilnadu.They are not only the earliest hero stones with inscriptions, noticed so far, but also represent earliest portrait sculptures noticed. The inscriptions throw light on the so called dark age of Tamil history. Another article published by me on the bilingual coin of Vāsitti putra Sātakarṇi has attracted the attention of scholars and the study on this particular coin is being continued by other eminent scholars in the field.

Epigraphs furnish valuable source materials for social and cultural anthropology for a proper study of the structure of the society for example the present writer has made a study of the temple priests. Be they Vaiṣṇavites or Śaivites they were called Nambis in inscriptions. They were addressed with great respect as Tiruvaṭikaḷ in Tamil and Śrīpāda in Sanskrit. Thus they were called Nampitiruvaṭi or Nambi Śrīpāda, which later on became Nambūdri and Nampūdripad. Now this social group is considered a separate caste but as late as 14th or 15th centuries they were called only Nambis not only in Kerala but also throughout Tamilnadu. Epigraphs clearly indicate that social groups within one profession, depending upon the functions they discharged in the community considered themselves as separate castes superior in status, which let to the multiplicity of subcastes. Anthropologists are invited to take greater interest in the study of epigraphs, which would surely enlarge our knowledge of human behaviour in ancient Tamilnadu.

Indus script :

The recent attempts at decipherment of Indus Script by Russian and Finnish Scholars have evoked great interest in the study. Naturally there is jubilation over one point about which a number of scholars seem to agree, namely that the language of the Harappan people was Proto-Dravidian. The country is eagerly following the efforts of scholars in the field and are awaiting the final results.

Proton magnetometric survey :

Thanks to the interest and initiative taken by the French Institute of Indology, scientific aids to Archaeology are being brought into use in Tamilnad. Dr. Yves Martin from Paris first visited Tamilnadu and conducted Proton magnetometric survey at KāviripūmpaṭṭiNam, and other places. But more systematic work was undertaken by Dr. Hesse. His first visit in 1968 and his survey at KāviripūmpaṭṭiNam, indicated the presence of buried structures. It was at the invitation of Dr. T.P. Minakshisundaram Vice-chancellor of the Madurai University that Dr. Hesse conducted Magnetometric survey at Maturai, KoRkai, GaṅgaikoṇṭacōLapuram, KāviripūmpaṭṭiNam and Vasavasamudram. I had the privilege to associate myself with Dr. Hesse in this project.

The main aim of the survey at Madurai was to locate the ancient *Maturai* of Sangam age as there were differences of opinion regarding its location. AvaNiyāpuram, a suburb of Madurai, was held to be the site of old Madurai by some scholars. We have carefully examined the place at various points and could find no surface indication to justify the claim. We have examined another site, now called old Maturai, near PāṇṭimuNi temple. There were remains of an old fort, a few brick debris, and the remains of a mediaeval Viṣṇu temple etc. The Magnetometric survey conducted at this site proved positively, that it could not be the old Maturai, and that the site seems to have been occupied for a very short period during the mediaeval period.

Electric resistivity test was conducted in an open space behind Kūṭal ALagar temple, in the heart of Maturai as it yielded black and red ware of the megalithic period. The Survey indicated some anomalies and a trial pit there yielded the presence of a ring well. The pit was dug to a depth of more than 3 metres. The ring well is decidedly of later period but the layer indicated the occupation of the site from very early period. In all probability the present city lies over the old city. A nearby village called Māṭakkuḷam was also examined. The mediaeval inscriptions refer to Pāṇḍya palaces at Māṭakkuḷam to the east of the tank. A place locally called Kottarakalam was also explored.

At KoRkai, Dr. Hesse has located with Magnetometric Survey, a site which seems to be of great archaeological interest. I could not conduct excavation at this site before coming to this conference.

Dr. Hesse also conducted magnetometric survey at GaṅgaikoṇṭacōLapuram and Vasavasamudram. As a result of this survey, it has been clearly demonstrated that in a proved archaeological site, such scientific instruments are most valuable and discipline the excavator to his forthcoming excavations. I trust that Dr. Hesse will be able to give a more competent account of the survey than mysef.

As this paper was being printed, the Tata Institute of Fundamental research,

has sent a telegram communicating the C.14 dating for charcoal samples from KoRkai. The test gives the date as 2755± 95 years i.e. 785 B.C. The charcoal was collected from a hearth at the lowest strata and is of historic significance. The earliest human activity at KoRkai is thus taken back to 785 B.C. The result is striking and is to be studied in detail. This however gives a firm data for a megalithic habitation in Tamilnadu.

From the foregoing survey of Archaeological and Epigraphical survey, it would be clear, works in various fields are progressing well : international collaboration and joint works by specialists in various fields, are beginning to take tangible shapes and the future before Archaeology and Epigraphy of Tamilnadu is certainly bright.

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SESSION III

SANGAM LITERATURE

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM

M. VARADARAJAN

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THE DATING OF SANGAM LITERATURE

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM

Saṅgam classics

Early literary historians of Tamil grouped the works before the Bhakti period (7th Century A.D.) as Sangam Anthologies. They included *Pattup-pāṭṭu* (Ten Idylls) *PatiRRuppattu* (Ten tens), *PuRanāNūRu* (the four hundred puRam poems), *AkanāNūRu* (the four hundred akam poems), *KuRuntokai* (the four hundred short poems), *NaRRiṇai* (the four hundred medium sized poems), *AiṅkuRunūRu* (the five hundred very short poems), *Kalittokai* (the poems in kali meter which are 150 in number), and *Paripāṭal* (the poems in paripāṭal meter; only twenty-two poems are available where there should be seventy).

The *PatineṇkīLkkaṇakku* compositions (the eighteen smaller works) the *Kāvyas*, *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* and *Muttoḷḷāyiram* (the nine hundred on three kings) are also considered by them as of the Sangam group.

The grammar *Tolkāppiyam* belonged to a period earlier to the above noted works. This enumeration is largely based on the commentary of *IRaiyaNār Akapporuḷ* by Nakkīrar. A period ranging from 1700 B.C. to 200 A.D. has been ascribed to these works[1].

Such grouping of texts which are heterogeneous in theme, language and metre was questioned by discerning scholars like V. Kanakasabai Pillai, P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar and M. Raghavaiyengar.

S. Vaiyapuri Pillai examined critically these works and arrived at dates only portions of which were accepted by scholars. His views are as follows :

(a) Tokai and Pāṭṭu are the earliest literature in Tamil. Their period is between 200 — 275 A.D.

(b) All but *TirumurukāRRuppaṭai*, *Kalittokai* and *Paripāṭal* form the core of the Sangam classics. The latter works should be later than the 5th Century A.D.

(c) *Tolkāppiyam* belongs to the 5th Century A.D. *KuRaḷ* and other *Pati-neṇkiLkkaṇakku* works belong to a period ranging from 600 to 825 A.D. *Muttoḷḷāyiram* belongs to the last quarter of the 9th Century A.D.

(d) *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* are assigned to the first quarter of the 9th Century A.D.

Pillai had four main points of approach which deserve serious consideration.

(1) The Brāhmī inscriptions of the 3rd Century B.C. preserve a rudimentary form of Tamil in an evolving alphabet which would need at least a lapse of two to three Centuries to flower into a mature vehicle of literature maintaining a remarkable standard.

(2) The Greeco-Roman trade for which observations are available in the records of the early Greek travellers is paralleled by the contemporary descriptions in the Sangam Classics.

(3) The similarity between Sanskrit works and that of Tamil leading to the fixation of dates for the works in Tamil

and

(4) The language of the works and the differences in usage.

The recent revival of interest and reading of Brāhmī inscriptions have proved that their language is a translation of the Prākṛt or Pāli legends and as such they, at best, can be considered as a dialect of Tamil. When more inscriptions are deciphered, a clearer picture might emerge. To consider the language of the Brāhmī inscriptions as the beginning of written Tamil, in the present state of our knowledge, will not confirm the inference of Pillai. Reconstructed Pre-Tamil does not match with the language of the Brāhmī Inscriptions.

The second point of Greeco-Roman trade has been pointed out and relied on by V. Kanakasabai Pillai and other historians of Tamil. The coins of the later Roman Empire up to the 6th Century A.D. were found in Tamilnāḍu including Kerala. This will justify the later date for Sangam literature if one has other evidences also. Further, this evidence within the limits of its validity indicates the date of the Sangam anthologies as a whole and not of the individual works.

The parallels in Sanskrit literature deserve a closer scrutiny because of the importance given by Pillai and the difficulties experienced recently in applying these parallels.

Parallels in Sanskrit literature

Parallels, indeed, in the literature of a single language or in the neighbouring languages may throw light in determining the date of a literature. Pillai exploits the similarity of ideas between *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra* and the Vātsyāyana's *Kāma sūtra* with *Tolkāppiyam* (after 475 A.D.). Similarly, for the date of *KuRaḷ*, parallels in *Kāmandaka* have been pointed out by him. For *Cilappatikāram*, reference to a śloka of *Pañcatantra* has been cited by him for determining its age. Such comparisons can have cognizable value as material for dating the Tamil works, only when the dates of Sanskrit works are known with certainty.

The dates of early works of Sanskrit are as uncertain as that of Tamil, due

to paucity of direct evidence. The only firm date known in Sanskrit literature is the contemporaneity of Puṣyamitra Suṅga with Patañjali the author of the Mahābhāṣya (181-151 B.C.). For the political history of India, the date of the Aśokan Inscriptions are of importance but not to the literature of Sanskrit or Prākṛt. Another date of importance is that of the conquest of Alexander the Great, the date of which is known not from Indian sources but from other sources. This date too is of no direct relevance to the literary history of Sanskrit. The dates of Vedas, the Upanishad, Araṇyaka of Yakṣa and Pāṇini and the Epics, *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, are all dated relatively on the basis of evidence drawn from astronomy, history of Gods, the state of the language, parallels between them and the heuristic guesses which research workers are prone to make. My intention in mentioning the uncertainty of the dates of early Sanskrit works is only to stress that the question of dating is still open in Sanskrit as much as in Tamil.

Further known evidence point out that Kāñcīpuram was an active centre of Buddhistic and Sanskritic learning at least in the early Centuries after Christ. Śravaṇa Belgola was a seat of Jain studies and many authors of repute in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛt hailed from the South. The coins of the Śātavāhana (A.D. 200) issued from Āndhra Pradesh bearing legends in Prākṛt and Tamil show that the status of equality was accorded to Tamil in the Śātavāhana court and the utility of Tamil for political purposes in the whole of the South during Śātavāhana empire was recognized at that time. The contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit is too well known to be recalled here in detail. It is also clear from the publications of the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, that at least two of the later Sanskrit purāṇas, *Hālāsya Mahātmya* and *Śivarahasyakhāṇḍa* of *Skandapurāṇa* were composed in the South[7]. Even the most sacred and oldest of the Vedas — the *Ṛ*g, has incorporated about twenty to forty words from the Dravidian Languages. Therefore it will be axiomatic to say that all parallels will point towards a borrowing from Sanskrit rather than into Sanskrit unless other proofs are available for confirmation.

Date of Tamil Literature

One firm date now available in the history of early Tamil literature is the sack of Vātāpi, the capital of Pulikeṣin II by CiRuttoṇṭar, a contemporary of Ñānacampantar (642 A.D.). The Bhakti movement in South India was spearheaded by Ñānacampantar. The literature after Ñānacampantar can be dated in relation to him. The literature before Ñānacampantar can also be dated in relation to the Bhakti literature of which his is one of the earliest representatives. For this, two factors will be of help.

(1) In sentiment and theme, the literature before Ñānacampantar was different.
(2) In language also the Sangam literature is quite in contrast with those of the Bhakti period.

Of the two points noted above, sentiment and theme are not predictable with certainty. Secular or didactic themes can possibly flow concurrently in a period when Bhakti themes are dominant. The difference in a language, therefore will be more dependable in dating than the themes. Pillai used this factor but in a crude way. He depended on rules of grammars and the loan words from Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Pāli but not sound changes and alternants. Even his contemporary V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar used them in a satisfactory manner but not fully[8]. Pillai did not make use of Reddiar's findings for reasons not known now. Since language among all internal evidences is potential enough in dating literature, we should exploit it fully. But a few uncertainties in the study of language need to be pointed out even at his stage.

The editorial work of the ancient classics has to be done systematically so that their language can be handled with certainty. In this aspect Tamil cannot claim to have achieved any cognizable progress except in a few stray cases. The chronology suggested on the basis of language therefore will be tentative, as long as available editions are not definitive in their texts.

A single author may use a style which need not be representative of the period. It can be highly idiosyncratic and as a result the chronology suggested will be vitiated. Though theoretically it is a possibility, all literatures are composed for enjoyment, which will be possible only when the language, its medium, can be understood by all. The possibility of idiosyncratic feature entering literature is therefore less. Moreover in Sangam anthologies as well as in the Bhakti poems the authors belong to different parts of TamiLakam, including the South Canara district in the northwest and the whole of modern Kerala in the west. A representative sample of the language used for literature in all parts of TamiLakam is preserved in Sangam Literature. Idiosyncratic use would be minimal in such a corpus.

Aim of this Paper

The aim of this paper is to devise a method by which differences in the language of the works can be systematized for the purpose of serialization and to utilize them to infer the time depth.

One of the accepted principle in historical linguistics is that time differentiates languages. Conversely the difference in language will determine the difference in time.

The question therefore is how to locate the change-bearing elements in a

language. Another related question arising out of the former is how to measure the time difference[9].

Other Attempts

When exact dating is not possible due to want of evidence or due to ambiguity in the available evidence, topological dating has been suggested by Edward Sapir[10]. His method published in 1916 was comprehensive and detailed. In several instances it was a bit obscure. But it served as the germinal base to Glottochronology developed by Morris Swadesh[11] in the early fifties and the determination of the original home of the speakers of a family of languages[12] by I. Dyen in 1956. The typological factors mentioned by Sapir was quantified by J.A. Greenberg[13] in 1960 and extended to syntax by F.W. Householder[14] in the same year. A method for the quantification of allomorph was discussed by Eric P. Hamp[15] in 1957 and 1958 but he did not, like Greenberg and Householder, utilize the typological method for inferring time depth. Sapir's article being fundamental in outlook is summarized in the Appendix for the benefit of discussion here and for full utilization at a future date.

A sister discipline, Archaeology also makes use of topological dating just as Geologists do when they date the soil beds on the basis of their superposition. They also make use of astronomical factors, typology of human artifacts and animal remains, carbon 14 dating, dating the fossils under the sea bed and dating on the basis of the Fluorine content in bones.

Wherever such topological dating is resorted to, confirmative evidence is sought from several sources so that the dates can be relied on[16]. This cautious approach is followed in dating culture as well as the texts in a language.

Description of the Method

When the existing grammars of ancient texts in Tamil are compared the changes are noticeable in Phonology, Morphophonemics, Morphology, Syntax, Vocabulary and Semantics. Some of the changes are due to sound changes resulting in splits or mergers and some are replacements. The replacements in grammar are not readily influenced by cultural factors as in vocabulary and semantics. The latter two are dictionary based whereas, phonology to syntax are grammar based. Where the influence is regular and steady, the calculation of time will be maximally free from errors. But the conclusions arrived at by comparing the grammars of two texts can be confirmed by the results obtained from vocabulary and semantics. Greater importance is given to grammar based changes than to the dictionary based variations.

Since sound changes and replacements form the core in determining the

time factor, reconstruction of the pre-Tamil stage by comparing related languages of the sub-group in the case of Tamil, all the South Dravidian languages, and by historically reconstructing all automatic alternants of a single form found in the various texts of Tamil, form the basis of comparison and scoring. If the forms are different, they are utilized to calculate the time difference. This applies to distribution also. Difference in distribution will indicate time difference. Sameness in distribution will indicate sameness in time.

All texts, old as well as modern would have similar and changed features. Similarity with the reconstructed forms are indicated by a plus sign (+). Difference is indicated with a minus sign (—). Where the category is ambiguous due to laxity in analysis or due to the irrelevancy of the category to that text, it will be indicated with a zero (o). The total number of plusses indicates earliness in time. The total number of minuses indicates the lateness in time. The zero signs are not made use of for computing time.

Two important preliminaries for this method are the delimitation of the change-bearing categories in grammar and in the dictionary, and to fix a rate of change.

(a) After extensive testing in Malayālam and Tamil texts, old as well as modern, the categories have been fixed and enumerated below :

(1)	PHONOLOGY :	*Phonemes* (9)		
		(a) Change in phonemes	+	—
		(b) Change in allophones	+	—
		(c) Distribution of phonemes	+	—
		(d) Distribution of allophones	+	—
		(e) Syllabic structure	+	—
		(f) Change in Clusters	+	—
		(g) Word initials	+	—
		(h) Word finals	+	—
		(i) Quantitative allophony	+	—
(2)	MORPHOPHONEMICS :	*Sandhi Rules* (3)		
		(a) Change in rules	+	—
		(b) Number of exceptions	+	—
		(c) Number of automatic rules in stem alternants	+	—
(3)	MORPHOLOGY :	*Morphemes* (6)		
		(a) Change in morphemes	+	—
		(b) Change in allomorphs	+	—
		(c) Distribution of morphemes	+	—

		(d) Distribution of allomorphs	+	—
		(e) Changes in word formation	+	—
		(f) Quantitative allomorphy	+	—
(4)	SYNTAX :	*Syntactic Units* (4)		
		(a) Changes in Units	+	—
		(b) Distributional changes	+	—
		(c) Change in immediate constituency	+	—
		(d) Change in the derivational rules	+	—
(5)	VOCABULARY (4)	(a) Number of words-indigenous	+	—
		(b) Number of words-borrowed	+	—
		(c) Free units	+	—
		(d) Auxiliary units	+	—
(6)	SEMANTICS (4)	(a) Extension	+	—
		(b) Contraction due to synonyms	+	—
		(c) Associative changes	+	—
		(d) Borrowed changes	+	—

The rate of change according to recent estimates varies from one generation (of twenty five years) to ten years. The report of A. Martinet on a change of ɛ > ə in Parisian French between the younger and older generations of Frenchmen after World War II helps to confirm the proposed duration of ten years for a change. It is also assumed that a single change in any one of the categories may involve a change in other areas of a language. In such cases the changes may take place simultaneously in related categories at a single point of time. Also, in some instances, a single change may take much longer time than ten years as assumed here. Such variations will be levelled because of the larger samples used in computation. As an additional precaution for exactitude in the results, a ten percent confidence limit is proposed and the probable date is computed and given side by side with the exact date.

For illustrating the method, a limited sample from verb morphology of *PatiRRuppattu* (P.P.) and *Cilappatikāram* (Cil.) is listed below.

		P.P.	Cil.
Causative :	-pi	+	—
	-ppi-	+	—
Future :	-uk-	+	—

Present :		-kinR-		(—)	+	(+)	—
Negative :		-o-			+		—
		-aal-			+		—
Gerund :		-iyar-			+		—
Conditional gerund :		-in			+		—
Verbal Noun (1) :		-kal			o		o
Verbal Noun (2) :		-cci			+		—
Verbal Noun (3) :		ல-m	ல-n		+		—
Verbal Noun (4) :		-al			+		—
Infinitive :		-mal		(—)	+	(+)	—
		ல-mal	ல-mai	(—)	+	(+)	—
Optative :		-i		(—)	+	(+)	—
	ல-ka	ல-iya	ல-iyar		+		—
	ல-iyal	ல-iya	ல-i	(—)	+	(+)	—
Conjugated Noun :		-i-			—		+
First Person Marker :		ṭu			—		+
		ku			—		+
		utu/tu			—		+
Second Person Marker :		-o-			—		+
		-in			—		+
		-ṭi		(—)	+	(+)	—
Third Person Marker :		-ō-			+		—
	ல-ā-		ல-a-		—		+
	ல-ɸ-		ல-a-		—		+
First Person :	ல-l		ல-n		—		+
Stem groups :		-in-			+		—
		-t-		(—)	+	(+)	—
		Total ...	...	+20	—9	+9	—20

The plus signs mark the quantum of sameness of the text with the reconstructed pre-Tamil. The minus signs mark the quantum of difference. The zero sign marks the ambiguity in the analysis though a difference is registered when the two texts are compared. Where an unit is found in one text but of a later or earlier time in comparison with pre-Tamil, it is marked with (+) and by its side a minus (—) or vice versa (—) +. It has to be interpreted as "unit available but of a later time" or "unit not available so of an earlier time."

The time involved for the changes attested by the two texts P.P. and Cil. is 29 x 10 = 290 years on the basis of the categories listed above. The plus and

minus signs indicate the nearness to or distance of a text from the pre-Tamil forms. More number of plusses means nearness to the pre-Tamil form and the minus signs indicate the lateness of the text from the first text. If the computed date of P.P. is 150 A.D., Cil. will have 200 years added to it and will have 350 A.D. as its date.[17]

Similar computations have been made for Phonology, Morphophonemics and Syntax. Not all areas have uniform scores. In Phonology and Morphophonemics the scores are less. As a result, the categories under them though larger in number, have a much less difference. Only in Morphology the scores are substantial. For confirmation, the dates on the basis of the scores from vocabulary and semantics have to be computed. The computed dates given below are entirely based on Phonology, Morphophonemics and Morphology.

Text	Computed date	10% confidence limit computation
kuRuntokai	180 B.C.	198-162 B.C.
aiṅkuRunūRu	120 B.C.	132-108 B.C.
pattuppāṭṭu	80 B.C.	88-72 B.C.
puRanāNūRu	60 A.D.	54-66 A.D.
patiRRuppattu	150 A.D.	135-165 A.D.
akanāNūRu	210 A.D.	189-231 A.D.
naRRiṇai	230 A.D.	207-253 A.D.
kalittokai	250 A.D.	225-275 A.D.
paripāṭal	290 A.D.	211-319 A.D.
cilappatikāram	310 A.D.	279-341 A.D.

The time depth of the Sangam anthologies — tokai and pāṭṭu is between 180 B.C. and 290 A.D. The nine works between themselves show a time difference of 470 years. With the ten percent confidence limit the dates should be between 409 and 481 years.

Confirmation for the Computed Dates

The date of *patiRRuppattu* according to the computation table given above is 150 A.D. (135-165 A.D.). The Pugalūr Inscription on Cēra kings dated on palaeographical evidence to the 2nd Century A.D. mentions three kings of the same family who are in father-son relationship. That will give atleast seventy five years for the composition of the text. Further, the outlook of that text is panegyric which is meaningful only when the poet is a contemporary of the

king or kings. The use of imperative plurals and optatives in the text also confirm the contemporaneity of the poet and the kings. This gives the text a date ranging from 124 to 199 A.D. which is comparable to the date arrived at by computation i.e. 150 A.D. (135-165 A.D.). Similarly when the method was applied to two old texts in Malayālam, *KaNNassa Rāmāyaṇam* and *Kṛṣṇa-Gāthā*, the computed time difference of 130 (117-143) years was recorded. The manuscript evidence shows that *KaNNassa Rāmāyaṇam* is earlier than *Kṛṣṇa-Gāthā* atleast by 120 years. The time calculated therefore, in all modesty, is not far off the mark.

Advantages in this Method

(1) Unlike glottochronology which deals with replacement of vocabulary which is unstable and therefore, will distort the computation of time, this method primarily makes use of grammar where replacement is comparatively more stable. Any computation based on it will be comparably dependable.

(2) All aspects of language change have been taken into consideration while computing the date in this method, whereas glottochronology deals with the change of vocabulary only.

(3) The selection of categories in this method is never a problem because most of the categories are found in any grammar. The disadvantages and lopsidedness pointed out by the critiques of the basic word list used by glottochronologists are not available in the categories or in the units in the present method.

(4) The duration of change assumed in this method is attested widely by contemporary observations.

Disadvantages in the Method

(1) Unless the grammars are worked out thoroughly and uniformly, computed results will be skewed. Consumption of time for completing this preliminary requirement is staggering. Whether a grammar based on a limited corpus of 300 or 400 words can yield the same or the near same results has to be tested.

(2) Some of the categories are mutually dependent : For instance, new clusters will certainly affect the syllabic patterns. A higher score in consonant clusters will also yield a similar increased score in the variation in syllabic patterns. The largeness of the sample will level the effects of such categories. Since the categories are consistently repeated for all texts, the results will not be affected by this draw back.

(3) Since several grammars are utilized for comparison and computation,

the analysers' mistakes like over and undifferentiation of units, omission, difference in the use of phonemic or morphemic symbols, difference in naming categories, difference in the assignement of units in the categories are certain to creep in. This will have influence on the computation of time.

The possibility of such discrepancies entering in is always available in any comparative work. A careful reworking and checking can minimize to a great extent such mistakes. The confidence limit proposed will also take care of such deficiencies.

(4) Idiosyncratic usage of language by an author will skew the results. This has been answered already.

(5) The laxity of the editorial work will affect the results. This draw back has also been already discussed.

All the disadvantages thus, are neutralizable in some cases : In others they can be controlled.

Conclusion

Where absolute dating is not possible, the method described above can offer a relative dating which can be made use of with caution. The serialization of the Sangam classics can be stated now with a fair amount of certainty.

Further testing of the method can refine the results which can also refine the method itself.

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APPENDIX

TIME PERSPECTIVE IN ABORIGINAL AMERICAN CULTURE (1916)

Selected writings of Edward Sapir, Ed. : D. G. Mendelbaum University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles — 1951, pp. 390-467

When chronological facts are either lacking or undependable is it possible to inject chronological facts to purely descriptive data ? Edward Sapir suggests a series of steps in his Time Perspective (1916). Though absolute chronology is not possible, events can be serialized which will clarify issues in history, otherwise not clear in a confusing mass of material. A detailed examination of the method though burdensom is not irrelevant to our purpose.

Evidences are of two types :

(A) Direct

and (B) Inferential.

(A) The records of travellers and missionaries fall under direct evidence. Negative evidence can also be made use of with great caution. Native testimony like formal legends and personal informations can be grouped under direct evidence. The native mode of dating monuments is also important for this purpose. The stratification of human artifacts and skeletons, chronologically ordered by archaeologists is also a source of direct evidence.

(B) Inferential evidences are drawn from

(a) Physical Anthropology

(b) Data from culture

and (c) Linguistics.

(a) Under Physical Anthropology, resemblance in physical features relative thickness of the population in any given area whether inferred from the number of skeletal remains or directly gathered from the number of inhabitants known to occupy the area at a given time are utilized. If in a large area there is very thin population the indication is that it is occupied only recently. If in a restricted area there is concentration of population then it argues for long occupancy.

(b) Cultural seriation rests on the tacit assumption that human development has normally proceeded from the simple or unelaborated to the complex. In otherwords what is logically prior to the logically secondary cultural associations like the cultivation of tobacco before its being offered as a ritual is of use in

this attempt. If in a bunch, one cultural complex forms the core, at the other periphery the core should have originated earlier than the other. Absence of a complex in a legend but practised by the tribe should be of a later date.

Place names and personal names are also sometimes useful as gauges for the relative ages of cultural elements. If the cultural elements are firmer in association, they will be older. The fits of culture in the geographical environment is a factor to help in finding which is earlier or which is later. Maladjustment of cultural trait will throw light on borrowing on tribal contact.

The frequency of association of a cultural element with others is also a factor in finding older strata. Christianity is older because of its frequency of association than the locomotive.

Elaborate designs indicate borrowing because individuals may accelerate such elaboration. In spite of this a complex culture can have a greater time depth. Similarly greater specialization, say for instance, the technique of specialization in weaving baskets should have a long period of development.

If this survival of obscure and isolate belief, myth, custom and episode or other cultural elements which appear to be meaningless will be old in point of time. Taboos of various sorts belong to this category.

The third method is the geographical distribution of the cultural elements. They may either take a single element or a bunch and plot its distribution and interpret historically. We may also divide the geographical area into cultural areas and note the differences as well as the resemblances in the cultural trait so that a comparison with other areas will throw light on the time sequence.

Culture begins in a centre and spreads to the periphery. If the centre can be spotted out, it will be earlier than the periphery. There are some difficulties: the spread may not be even ; it may have different passes. If there is a geographical barrier the centre may be in the periphery just as some of the dialect centres are.

The elements might have undergone several changes in the centre and as a result of it the periphery might preserve the older elements. Movement of population is a hurdle in this interpretation, because of the migrant population spreading to, far off corners may preserve the changed traits. In spite of these difficulties, the larger the territory convened by the cultural trait the older will be the trait itself. Of course cultural elements travel at a different speed for instance the *Pañcatantra* stories travelling at a faster speed than Vedanta. Linguistic areas have this kind of difficulty as cultural areas have. In linguistics, genetically related languages and those near to each other for a long time can lead to borrowing or transmission. As in linguistics, cultural elements found distributed along lines of rapid transaction must be considered lesser in age than one distri-

buted over the same geographical extent but largely along routes lying aside a trunk road. When there is continuous diffusion, there should be a single source of origin. But an independent evolution of the same element or convergence of two or more distant but similar streams of influence may result in the forms of the same type.

All diffusions emanate from single individuals when two tribes now separated have the same trait, that diffusion antidated the events that brought out their isolation.

Culture areas, that is geographically contiguous tribes that exhibit common cultural traits which are not found in other such groups will help in serialization. Sometimes the cultural area may be a primary or secondary one. When there is specialized development within a larger cultural area, that becomes secondary and therefore later. The greater the number of successive cultural strata we are able to unravel the more distant will be our mission into the past.

(c) Linguistic evidences have stability because language is more unified and complex than culture. Linguistic changes proceed more slowly and at a rate more even than in culture. Violent sociological changes are accompanied by only moderate adjustments in language.

The core of the language is the inherited vocabulary. This can be made use of for chronology.

(1) to study the cultural association and geographical distribution of linguistic elements like word, grammatical element, morphological peculiarity, phonetic characteristics or

(2) we may take a language or linguistic group as such and work out its geographical distribution.

The culture words like *bow*, *arrow*, *plough* as against *railroad insulator* have a form which will indicate that the latter are created out of earlier elements. Sound changes have affected the transparancy of the first set.

Cognates have more time depth than non-cognates.

That place name which is etymologically clear should be of recent origin.

The richness of the vocabulary of proto-Indo European shows that the tribe was interested in cattle breeding.

Archaic suffixes like Ox-Oxen shows the ancientness of the cattle culture in Indo-European.

The specialized meaning of suffixes like typewriter will have relevancy to culture.

The distribution of cultural words like cultural elements can help in chronology. Wider the spread of the word deeper will be its time. A minimum rate can be assigned on the basis of sound change. By tracing the history of a

word we can pinpoint the source — the tribe which speaks it the centre and the spread of the item.

Borrowed words will offer clues to the direction of borrowing.

Borrowing can be identified by morphological features or by phonetic elements. The latter may be in imitating other language sounds or in their change in position. The borrowed words will undergo sound changes which will help in stratifying such changes.

When two stocks of languages have greater difference the time difference will be more.

When the geographical area of the tribe is larger greater will be the time taken by the tribe to spread.

On the basis of language, the earliest settlers in America can be inferred. They are the Asiatics and then came the Red-Indians. If they speak genetically unrelated languages they will be earlier.

Linguistic differentiation has time value, in relation to independent linguistic stocks but also and even more typically in relation to the Cognate languages of a single linguistic stock.

Geographical spread and the centre of branching have relevancy to this. Major divisions of the linguistic stock will help in spotting the Centre. The Algonkian languages for example has four branches. The conservative of the branches and its locale will indicate the original home of the language and its movements.

In borrowing, when suffixes enter into another language the long contact of the tribes is proven by them. The relative age of the tribal contact or even of the former existence of a contact now disrupted can be inferred from this.

Sapir has warned that all criteria have defects and that any one criterion is never to be applied to the exclusion of or in opposition to all others.

A TYPE OF APOSTROPHES IN SANGAM LITERATURE

M. VARADARAJAN

In the nine anthologies known as Sangam literature, almost all the one thousand eight hundred and sixty verses on the theme of love called "Akam poetry" are in the form of dramatic monologues. Most of them are the emotional expressions of either the lover or his sweetheart or her confidante. There are many soliloquies, which are not called as such, but are classified as the lover's or the sweetheart's addresses to his or her heart. Beside these, there are also verses in the form of addresses of the lover or his sweetheart to some objects of nature such as the parrot, the crane, the crab, the moon, the wind and the rain. They are a class by themselves and indicate the poetic convention prevalent in the Sangam age, the convention of depicting the hero or the heroine in a dream-like mood as addressing those objects of nature and expressing their emotions of love and calling for their help. TolkāppiyaNār, the author of the earliest extant Tamil grammar, mentions about this personification or attribution of human characteristics or feelings to non-human organisms and inanimate objects[1]. It is clear that this had been one of the frequent resources of love-poetry in the days of TolkāppiyaNār.

There are such apostrophes to the millet crop (called tiNai)[2], the jasmine creeper[3] and the *vayalai* creeper[4] among plants; to the parrot[5], the owl[6], the cock[7], the crane[8], and the *a*NR*il*[9] among birds; to the crab[10] and the bee[11] among other animate beings; to the moon[12] the sun[13], the northwind[14], the rain[15], the evening[16], the sea[17] and the pastoral region[18] among inanimate objects. These apostrophes to the objects of nature are the creations of high poetic imagination and are conventional, not realistic. The poets imagine the heroine or the hero to be in such an intense co-existence with nature that they passionately express to these objects their feelings of desolation during separation. The grammarian explains them as the result of the psychological upset caused by the emotional tension and disappointment of the lovers[19].

This has led the poets further to the extent of imagining the heroine to treat those objects like her intimate companions and request them to offer help and relieve her of her distress while pining away in separation. The heroine could as well request a friend to come forward to render such help, but it is almost impossible for her to express her delicate feelings of clandestine love to her friends. Expression of the feelings of love even to the confidante is generally

considered to be crossing the limits of modesty on the part of the heroine[20]. The confidante is expected to be shrewd enough to understand her feelings even without her saying. But when, for some reasons or other, the confidante is thought to be not so much helpful, the heroine finds herself unable to bear all her distress alone and wants to express her feelings to some bird or animal and thus get a sort of relief. The poets thus imagine her to get some relief through these expressions. A request is made on such occasions to a particular bird to serve her as a messenger to her lover and make him realise her suffering. The heroine believes that if he is somehow informed of her despair and desolation, he will surely come to her and relieve her of her distress. There are six such apostrophes in Sangam literature. All of them are appeals of the heroine or her confidante to birds and a crab to serve as messengers to the hero. Two are apostrophes to the bee[21], one to the parrot,[22] two to the crane[23] and another to the crab[24]. They are all passionate expressions of the confidante and the heroine imagined by the poets in their creative intensity. Such poetry is rarely expected to be realistic. Herein poetry intoxicates the minds of the readers by words with a recurrent pattern, an archetype[25] of the theme of love.

There comes a stage in the love-affair of the heroine when her confidante has to goad the hero on to marriage putting forth various reasons ; the chief of them is the mother's restriction on the heroine not to go to the field for watch. Thereby the heroine loses the opportunity of meeting her lover in the field. The hero promises to marry soon after the harvest, but fails to do so in time. Her parents want to discontinue her watch as her melodious voice invites the parrots instead of scaring them away. The confidante then appeals to the parrots in the field to inform the hero, if they happen to meet him there during their absence, that the mother has forbidden their coming to the field[26].

In another situation, the confidante addresses the bee and requests it to carry to the hero of the yonder hills the news of the unhappy life of the heroine restricted to her house. She also assures the bee that there is nothing to be afraid of in carrying such a good message to the hero just to help them[27].

In another stanza, the heroine herself addresses the bee and makes a request. The hero has gone to a distant country seeking wealth. On account of separation her health is affected and her complexion has turned pale with sickness. She asks the bee why it is not attracted by the paleness of her complexion just like the *pīr* blossoms of the same colour and herself attributes it to its lacking fragrance like those blossoms. She blames the bee for being so merciless and enquires whether it is as gloomy and dark in its feeling as in its colour. She also curses it to suffer like her as it does not come forward to help her and carry her message to her beloved[28].

In a state of desolation, the heroine addresses a crane and requests it to carry her message to her lover. "Oh crane ! After seeking for your food in the beach you want to fly away quickly to join your kith and kin. Stay a while and listen to me please. The evening is very desolate to me. If you realize my distress, you will sympathize me and love me. Don't treat me as an alien. Please go to my lover who is the lord of your shore and inform him of my condition and make him realize my sufferings[29] ".

In another stanza the heroine is depicted to blame the bird for not informing the hero of her distress. She says the bird ought to have a sense of gratitude to her as it frequently comes to her village, stirs the waters of her village tank, feeds on the fish of the tank and then returns to the village of the hero. Yet it fails to convey her message to him. She asks it whether it is so much forgetful or so less affectionate[30].

The objects of nature are thus treated as conscious beings and are called upon to sympathize with the heroine's sufferings. The heroine has been depicted to project her own personal feelings into Nature and discover there, sometimes a sympathetic response to her emotions, at other times an unsympathetic attitude towards her. Thus the external world is brought into direct relationship with her feelings and the objects of Nature are made conscious of the emotions of the lovers. They are thus personified as messengers of love.

It may be inferred from these that in ancient days there were many folksongs in the Tamil language in which bees, parrots and other birds had been addressed and requested to serve as messengers of love. In course of time, when the learned poets composed verses on those patterns, they freely adopted the convention of those folksongs and wrote such apostrophes. There are references in *AkanāNūRu* and other Sangam works to prove the existence of such a convention. The confidante, in a poem in *AkanāNūRu*, tells the heroine that the evening has arrived as a messenger of her lover[31].

That this had been a well-established tradition in the Sangam age is proved by a stanza in *PuRanāNūRu*, wherein the poet Picirantaiyar addresses the swan and requests it to visit the place of his friend, the CōLa emperor KōpperuñcōLaN and introduce itself to the emperor as the servant of the poet[32]. The poet assures the bird-messenger that the emperor, will surely reward it suitably. In a stanza in *KuRuntokai*, the heroine asks her confidante how the hero has forgotten to leave a message through some birds, though not to them, at least to the *vēṅkai* tree which had been such a good company to him during many desolate nights of clandestine adventure. The message is herein referred to as "*pulvāyt-tūtu*", the message through the bird (or bird's mouth)[33]. These are all clear evidences to the existence of the poetic tradition of imagining birds to carry messages of

love in the songs of the early days.

This form or pattern has persisted amid variations from age to age and has corresponded to a pattern or configuration of emotional tendencies in the minds of the readers who have been stirred by this theme through all these centuries. Love is more or less checked by environment and the lovers feel that they are not free to express their love and to live according to their desire. There has been a need for a symbol to express their craving for freedom from this bondage, and the birds flying in the air have served as such a symbol. The bird which flies in the air with a certain amount of freedom from the force of gravitation has always appealed to the poets imagination and they have found it a useful symbol to express the lovers' craving for freedom[34]. They have developed in course of time the imagery of the bird carrying the message of love to the lovers, which we find in six stanzas in Sangam literature. The bird-messenger later on became a persistent or recurrent mode of apprehension.

In this pattern of poetry we find an element of make-believe. Though the heroine addresses the birds, it is the readers, not the birds, who are in fact listening to her. In the apostrophes cited above, Sangam literature has preserved this earliest type of sophisticated make-believe evolved from the folksongs of that pattern. The poets, in thus presenting the birds as messengers of love, "desert the actual or intellectual truth of life, only to express more powerfully its reality for feeling."[35]

Though birds are generally addressed for this purpose, there is a stanza in *AkanāNūRu* in which the crab has been requested by the heroine to serve as her messenger[36]. The heroine in a despondent mood addresses the crab and says that neither the coastal grove, nor the backwater, nor the *puNNai* tree is sympathetic enough to convey her message to the hero. She begs of the crab to render this help.

Like the birds flying fast in the sky, the crab that runs very swiftly in the sandy shore has appealed to the pining heroine. Her mind yearns to fly away or run away from her desolate condition when the swiftness of the crab like that of the bird appeals to such a mental state. Therefore, the crab also is addressed as a messenger of love in this pattern of poetry.

These apostrophes in Sangam literature may be said to be the earliest of this type in Indian literature. Among the poems in Sanskrit, "the cloud-messenger" of Kālidāsa is the earliest of this type and Kālidāsa is generally ascribed to the third century A.D.[37]. The Sangam anthologies in Tamil were codified during the second or third century and most of the poems in the anthologies belong to a period earlier than that[38]. It may, therefore, be concluded that the earliest of this type of poems are these apostrophes in Sangam literature. In

the later period, Tamil literature abounds in this type of poetry. The earliest Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram* has a few songs of this type[39]. The ĀLvār and NāyaNmār have contributed a good number of such apostrophes in their devotional hymns all based on the archetype of the bird-messenger in the Sangam anthologies[40].

Later on, this prototype developed itself into an elaborate species of literature called '*tūtu*' (*dūta* in Sanskrit). Numerous are the '*tūtu*' poems in Tamil. There are 51 works of '*tūtu*' species available in Tamil which are of about 600 lines each.

Thus it is seen that the six apostrophes dealt with herein are of great importance as they are the earliest of the type and form the basic pattern in the subsequent ages for the creation of similar poems in the epics and devotional works and later for the development of the species of literature called '*tūtu*'.

REFERENCES

1. *Tolkāppiyam, Poruḷatikāram,* 194 (Iḷampūraṇam).
2. *NaRRiṇai* 251.
3. *PuRanāNūRu* 242 ; *KuRuntokai* 162
4. *AkanāNūRu* 383.
5. *NaRRiṇai* 376.
6. *Ibid.* 83.
7. *KuRuntokai* 107.
8. *AiṅkuRunūRu* 391.
9. *Kalittokai* 129.
10. *AkanāNūRu* 170.
11. *KuRuntokai* 2, 392 ; *NaRRiṇai* 277.
12. *NaRRiṇai* 196 ; *KuRuntokai* 47.
13. *PuRanāNūRu* 8.
14. *AkanāNūRu* 125, 163 ; *NaRRiṇai* 193 ; *KuRuntokai* 235.
15. *AkanāNūRu* 188 ; *NaRRiṇai* 139, 238, 248 ; *KuRuntokai* 158, 270.
16. *AiṅkuRunūRu* 183, 188 ; *KuRuntokai* 158, 270 ; *NaRRiṇai* 138, 238, 248.
17. *KuRuntokai* 163 ; *Kalittokai* 129.
18. *Ibid.* 420.
19. *Tolkāppiyam, Poruḷatikāram,* 145 (Iḷampūraṇam).
20. TolkāppiyaNār states that, for the heroine, modesty is greater than life : *Porulatikāram* 111 (Iḷampūraṇam).
21. *KuRuntokai* 392 ; *NaRRiṇai* 277.
22. *NaRRiṇai* 376.

23. *Ibid.* 54, 70.
24. *AkanāNūRu* 170.
25. Archetype, borrowed from the psychologist Carl Jung, means a primordial image, a part of the collective conscious, the psychic residue of numberless experiences of the same kind, and thus part of the inherited response-pattern of the race.
26. *NaRRiṇai* 376.
27. *KuRuntokai* 392
28. *NaRRiṇai* 277.
29. *Ibid.* 54.
30. *Ibid.* 70.
31. *AkanāNūRu* 259.
32. *PuRanāNūRu* 67.
33. *KuRuntokai* 266.
34. MAUD BODKIN, *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry*, London, 1954, p. 145.
35. *Ibid.* p. 239.
36. Stanza 170.
37. A. B. KEITH, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928 pp. 80-82.
38. There are differences of opinion regarding the age of compilation of the anthologies. But the general opinion is that they were compiled during the 3rd or 4th century A.D.
39. *Cilappatikāram* is generally said to be a work of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. In the chapter No. 7 *KaNalvari*, there are four stanzas of this pattern.
40. For example, ten hymns of Tiruñānacampantar are messages of love to ten different birds (First *TirumuRai*, *Tiruttoṇipuram*, '*Vaṇṭāṅka*'). So also NammāLvār's *TiruvāymoLi* contains many songs of this pattern (1:4:1-8).

COMPUTER AIDED CONCORDANCE TO THE SANGAM LITERATURE

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From the growing interest in research in the field of Tamil Studies it is now clear that a proper concordance to the Tamil works of the Sangam period is badly needed. The Sangam classics consist of eight anthologies and ten idylls. We have at the moment no proper concordance to these works.

The total number of songs in the Sangam works is 2381, making 1368 pages in the standerd edition, published by S. Vaiyapurippillai, through Paari nilaiyam, Madras, 1967. This number includes the scattered pieces which are not included in the main bulk. These songs, of more than 400 poets who lived in different regions and circumstances, are the only literary material now available for understanding the Dravidian culture and civilization of the early Christian period.

INDEXES:

There are of course, indexes to the Sangam works. In printed form we have the index to Puranaanuuru, prepared by Prof. V.I. Subramoniam, which was published in 1962 by the University of Kerala. Patirruppattu and Narrinai, two of the eight anthologies, have indexes which are the appendices to doctoral theses. Indexes to other works exist in manuscript form prepared by late S. Vaiyapuripillai when he was the Head of the Department of Tamil Research in the University of Kerala. Pattuppaattu, (the Ten Idylls), has an index, and that, too, is an appendix to a thesis submitted to the University of Kerala. This and the two indexes mentioned above were done as parts of theses during 1963-65, and are in the library of the Unviersity of Kerala.

An index to the Sangam songs was prepared by Vidwan S. Dhandapani Desikar of Annamalai University, and the first volume came out in 1964. I am not aware of his further work on it. The French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry has published two volumes of the "Index des mots Tamouls." I regret that I have not been able to see this work in Copenhagen.
Dr. No. Subramanian, of Madras University, compiled 'Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index', which includes all eighteen minor works and other fragmentary pieces, considering them to belong to the pre-Pallavan period, i.e., 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. This book, published by Madras University in 1966, gives explanations in English and Tamil.

CONCORDANCE PROJECT:

Lack of concordances, and the fact that the existing indexes have not been published, cause difficulty in getting proper reference to source material. Of course the making of a concordance is not an easy job. From my own experience it needs not only patience but also interest and persistence.

In 1969, I had the good fortune to be appointed as a visiting fellow to the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen, to assist Dr. Asko Parpola in the decipherment of Indus inscriptions for a period of one year (1969-70). I was also working on personal names in Tamil inscriptions and on the concordance to the proper names of the Sangam poets. In addition to this work I decided to start the Tamil Cankam condordance project when the SIAS acquired a Flexowriter. This project would not have materialised without the acquaintance of Mr. Donald B. Wagner, a research fellow at SIAS with experience in programming, who instructed me in the use of computer.

PROGRESS OF THE WORK:

Transliteration:

I would like to say something about the transliteration system I adopted for Tamil in this respect. Before starting the punching of the songs I worked out the following transliteration system.

a, aa, i, ii, u, uu, e, ee, ai, o, oo, au, k̲

k, ṉ, c, m̲, t̲, ṉ, t, n, p, m, y, r, l, v, z, l̲, r̲, n̲,

This transliteration system is based on the following factors:

1. frequency of the letters having diacritic signs.
2. sandhi form of ṉ and m̲.
3. ease in typing.
4. adaptability to the computer and typewriter (minimum of dead keys).
5. to serve the immediate purpose.

With this transliteration system I started punching the songs on to paper tape, to be read by the computer. The machine is a Dura Tempowriter.

SEPARATING SANDHI:

Each line of the song consists of more than six words combined to form four poetic words. Therefore I began by separating the possible sandhi forms into meaningful words, but not the affixes. (see appendix 1.) This is for the following reasons:

1. to minimize the complexity in making the programme.
2. to facilitate the word count with a simple programme. Dissolution of sandhi by computer programme is the next step, and our concordance can be used for testing such a programme.

METHOD OF PUNCHING AND PROGRAMMING:

In the making of a concordance by computer the major task is punching, i.e., typing. I punched the songs line by line, giving each line a carriage return. After punching a complete song, I made two carriage returns before continuing the next song. These carriage returns are made to count the line and song number. (In making concordances to prose works one uses the fullstop as a counter, and the carri age return can be ignored).

PROGRAMMING:

As far as the programming is concerned I have acquired a working knowledge for practical purposes. The programme was prepared by Mr. Wagner according to my needs and suggestions, to make a concordance suitable for Tamil scholors. I am greatly indebted to him.

The programme, to which we gave the name TAMCON, "Tamil concordance programme" is of three parts. The first part TAMLOC reads the text and produces a tape giving each word, its location (song and line number), and the line in which it occur. A sample of this programme's output is shown in the appendix 2.

The second part, TAMSORT is the sorting of this word list. An example of the result of sorting is shown in appendix 3. At first we sorted by the European alphabetic order, and had some difficulty in modifying our sorting programme to sort according to the Tamil syllabic order.

The list shown in appendix 3, as can be seen, is a useable concordance. However, it is rather clumsy, so we use a third programme, called the "prettifying" programme, which reads this tape and produces a nice-looking concordance as shown in appendix 4.

CONCORDANCE IN TAMIL SCRIPT:

If the money were available, it would not be very difficult, now that we have a syllabic order, to publish the concordance in Tamil script. If a Tamil type ball for the I.B.M. Selectric typewriter were available we could immediately produce the concordance in this form. Such a type ball would cost approximately US$5000. Another possibility, which we have not yet fully investigated, is the use of photo type-setting machines. The cost here would be about US$300 for a Tamil "type film", plus an unknown amount for the rental of a machine.

CONCORDANCE SO FAR DONE:

So far I have completed Aimkuṟunuuṟu and Kuṟuntokai concordances, and I am in the process of adding definitions for the words. Akanaanuuṟu is partly done on paper tape. I plan to do it in three parts, as follows:

1. Kaliṟṟiyaaṉai nirai (120 songs)
2. Maṇimiṭai pavaḷam (180 songs)
3. Nittilakkoovai (100 songs)

REVERSE DICTIONARY PROJECT:

Using the Tamil Lexicon as a basis we plan to prepare an index of the words which occur as the second, third, etc., part of compounds. The latter part of the compound word is set first and listed alphabetically. This will be used as a quick reference to the compound units. The tape is being punched by Setsuko Bergholdt, our Japanese secretary, and by Mr. Eric Grinstead. The words in the lexicon are given in Roman transcription, but they are being modified as they are typed into the transcription system I devised for the Sangam concordance. The tapes can then be used immediately all the words are typed. Mr. Grinstead is experimenting with methods of reducing the work by omitting repetitions of the first few letters. So far the work is almost half completed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: I must thank the Scandinavian Institute for use of the Flexowriter, and the members of the Institute for constant encouragement in carrying through these projects; I thank also the Mathematics Department of Copenhagen University for providing time on its GIER Computer.

Appendix:1 Input 251-300 25/2/70

kunra kuravan aarppin ezili
num pala tuli poziyum naatil
netu varai patappai num uur
katu varai aruvi kaalinum azumee

kunra kuravan pul veey kurampai
manru aatu ila mazai maraikkum naatan
puraiyoon vaazi toozi virai peyal
arum pani alaliya kuutir
perum tal vaataiyin muntu vantananee

kunra kuravan caanta narum pukai
teem kamaz cilampin varai akam kamazum
kaanaka naatan varaiyin
manralum utaiyalkol toozi yaayee

kunra kuravan aaram aruttena
narum pukai cuuzntu kaantal naarum
valtu imir cutar nutal kuru makal
koltanar celvar tam kunru kezu naattee

kunra kuravan kaatal mata makal
varai ara makalir puraiyum caayalal
alyal arumpiya mulaiyal
ceyya vaayinal maarpinal cualmkee

kunra kuravan kaatal mata makal
valtupatu kuuntal tal tazai kotlcci
valaiyal mulai vaal eyirriyal
ilaiyal aayinum aar alalkinalee

kunra kuravan katavul peeli
irantanan perra ei valai kuru makal
aay ari netum kal kaliza
ceeyataal teyya nii piriyum naatee

kunra kuravan kaatal mata makal
ali mayil anna acai natal koticcIyal
peru varai naatan varaiyum aayin
kotuttanem aayinoom nanree
innum aanaatu nal nutal tuyaree

kunra kuravan kaatal mata makal
manra veelkai malar cila koltu
malai urai katavul kula mutal vazutti
teem pali ceyta iir narum kaiyal
malarnta kaantal naari
kaliznta kalhal em alalkiyoolee

kunra kuravan kaatal mata makal
men tool koticcIyal perarku aritu tilla
palm pura patu kili ooppalar
pun pula mayakkattu vilaintana tinaiyee

men tinai meeynta taru kal panri
van kal atukkattu tumcum naatan
ental aritai amcikkol
atuvee manra vaaraamaiyee

ciru tinai meeynta taru kal panri
turu kal atukkattu tulaiyotu vatiyum
ilanku malai naatan varuuum
maruntum ariyumkol toozi avan viruppee

Appendix-2. Word by Location

ena[233. 3]ol == izitarum aruvi nin
izitarum[233. 3]ol ena == aruvi nin
aruvi[233. 3]ol ena izitarum == nin
nin[233. 3]ol ena izitarum aruvi ==
kal[233. 4]== utai naattu cellal teyyoo
utai[233. 4]kal == naattu cellal teyyoo
naattu[233. 4]kal utai == cellal teyyoo
cellal[233. 4]kal utai naattu == teyyoo
teyyoo[233. 4]kal utai naattu cellal ==
min[234. 1]== avir vayanhku izai mekiza caaay
avir[234. 1]min == vayanhku izai mekiza caaay
vayanhku[234. 1]min avir == izai mekiza caaay
izai[234. 1]min avir vayanhku == mekiza caaay
mekiza[234. 1]min avir vayanhku izai == caaay
caaay[234. 1]min avir vayanhku izai mekiza ==
nal[234. 2]== nutal pacattal yaavatu tunni
nutal[234. 2]nal == pacattal yaavatu tunni
pacattal[234. 2]nal nutal == yaavatu tunni
yaavatu[234. 2]nal nutal pacattal == tunni
tunni[234. 2]nal nutal pacattal yaavatu ==
kanavil[234. 3]== kaanhum ivalee
kaanhum[234. 3]kanavil == ivalee
ivalee[234. 3]kanavil kaanhum ==
nanavil[234. 4]== kaanhaal nin maarpee teyyoo
kaanhaal[234. 4]nanavil == nin maarpee teyyoo
nin[234. 4]nanavil kaanhaal == maarpee teyyoo
maarpee[234. 4]nanavil kaanhaal nin == teyyoo
teyyoo[234. 4]nanavil kaanhaal nin maare ==
kalyura[235. 1]== viiznta maiyil vaanamotu
viiznta[235. 1]kalyura == maiyil vaanamotu
maiyil[235. 1]kalyura viiznta == vaanamotu
vaanamotu[235. 1]kalyura viiznta maiyil ==
aritu[235. 2]== kaatalar pozutee atanaal
kaatalar[235. 2]aritu == pozutee atanaal
pozutee[235. 2]aritu kaatalar == atanaal
atanaal[235. 2]aritu kaatalar pozutee ==
teri[235. 3]== izai telirppa muyanhki
izai[235. 3]teri == telirppa muyanhki
telirppa[235. 3]teri izai == muyanhki
muyanhki[235. 3]teri izai telirppa ==
piriyalam[235. 4]== enkamoo ezukamoo teyyoo
enkamoo[235. 4]piriyalam == ezukamoo teyyoo
ezukamoo[235. 4]piriyalam enkamoo == teyyoo
teyyoo[235. 4]piriyalam enkamoo ezukamoo ==
annaiyum[236. 1]== arintanal alarum aayinru
arintanal[236. 1]annaiyum == alarum aayinru
alarum[236. 1]annaiyum arintanal == aayinru
aayinru[236. 1]annaiyum arintanal alarum ==
nan[236. 2]== manai netu nakar pulampu kola urutarum
manai[236. 2]nan == netu nakar pulampu kola urutarum

Appendix-3. Sorted According to the Tamil Syllabic System

a[241. 2]veelan tantanal aayin == veelan
akam[225. 3]ul == kamazum kuuntal melliyal
akam[253. 2]teem kamaz cilampin varai == kamazum
akalvu[212. 3]aravarku evanoo naam == annaay
akaz[208. 2]kizaṅku == netum kuzi malka veeṅkai
akaz[270. 1]kizaṅku == keezal uzuta cilampil
akaṅkaṅ[220. 1]alaṅku mazai pozinta == aruvi
acai[258. 2]aṅi mayil anna == natai koticciyai
acai[298. 2]atukkal nal uur == natai koticci
acai[299. 3]amcil ooti == natai koticci
amcikkol[261. 3]entai arital ==
amcil[299. 3]== ooti acai natai koticci
amcum[205. 2]nan naaṅ utaiyal ninnum ==
atukkattatuvee[291. 2]turukal == paṅai tool
atukkattu[220. 2]aatu kazai == izitarum naatan
atukkattu[261. 2]van kal == tumcum naatan
atukkattu[262. 2]turu kal == tuṅaiyotu vatiyum
atukkattu[267. 2]turu kal == villoor maarri
atukkattu[289. 1]koticci in kural kili cettu ==
atukkam[274. 3]kunru uyar == kollum naatan
atukkal[296. 2]== mammai kavarum naata
atukkal[298. 2]== nal uur acai natai koticci
aṅaṅkiyoolee[259. 6]kaliznta kaṅṅal em ==
aṅaṅkiyoorkee[245. 4]kezutakaikol ival ==
aṅaṅkiyoonee[250. 5]puuṅ taaṅku ila mulai ==
aṅaṅkinalee[256. 4]ilaiyal aayinum aar ==
aṅi[232. 1]pootu aar kuuntal iyal == azuṅka
aṅi[258. 2]== mayil anna acai natai koticciyai
aṅi[294. 2]izai == matantaiyin toonrum naata
aṅintooyee[294. 5]pin irum kuuntal malar ==
atta[273. 1]== ceyalai tuppu uraz oṅ talir
atanaal[235. 2]aritu kaatalar pozutee ==
atanaal[242. 2]annaiyum arum tuyar uzantanal ==
ataninum[215. 6]== kotiya ceykuvar annaay
atu[243. 3]== manam kolkuvai annai ival
atuvee[247. 4]aru varai naatan peyarkoloo ==
atuvee[261. 4]== manra vaaraamaiyee
am[211. 2]vayalai == cilampin talaiyatu
am[211. 3]ceyalai == pakai tazai vaatum annaay
am[275. 2]cuural == ciru kool koṅtu viyal arai
am[300. 2]== cirai virikkum perum kal verpan
am[300. 4]== tiim kilavi polika nin cirappee
ampal[279. 5]== ceeri alar aaṅkattee
amma[221. 1]== vaazi toozi kaatalar
amma[222. 1]== vaazi toozi nam uur
amma[223. 1]== vaazi toozi nam malai
amma[224. 1]== vaazi toozi nam malai
amma[225. 1]== vaazi toozi paim cunai
amma[226. 1]== vaazi toozi nam malai
amma[227. 1]== vaazi toozi naalum
amma[228. 1]== vaazi toozi nam uur
amma[229. 1]== vaazi toozi naam aza

kapilar aiṁkuṟunuuṟu

a
அ
241.2 veelaṉ tantaṉaḷ aayiṉ == veelaṉ

akam
அகம்
225.3 uḷ == kamazum kuuntal melliyal
253.2 teem kamaz cilampiṉ varai == kamazum

akalvu
அகல்வு
212.3 aṟavaṟku evaṉoo naam == aṉṉaay

akaz
அகழ்
208.2 kizaṁku == neṭum kuzi malka veeṁkai
270.1 kizaṁku == keezal uzuta cilampil

akaṉkaṁ
அகன்கண்
220.1 alaṁku mazai pozinta == aruvi

acai
அசை
258.2 aṁi mayil aṉṉa == naṭai koṭicciyai
298.2 aṭukkal nal uur == naṭai koṭicci
299.3 amcil ooti == naṭai koṭicci

amcikkol
அஞ்சிக்கொல்
261.3 entai aṟital ==

amcil
அஞ்சில்
299.3 == ooti acai naṭai koṭicci

amcum
அஞ்சும்
205.2 naṉ naaṁ uṭaiyaḷ niṉṉum ==

aṭukkattatuvee
அடுக்கத்தது ஏ
291.2 tuṟukal == paṁai tooḷ

aṭukkattu
அடுக்கத்து
220.2 aaṭu kazai == izitarum naaṭaṉ
261.2 vaṉ kal == tumcum naaṭaṉ
262.2 tuṟu kal == tuṁaiyoṭu vatiyum
267.2 tuṟu kal == villoor maaṟṟi
289.1 koṭicci iṉ kural kiḷi cettu ==

aṭukkam
அடுக்கம்
274.3 kuṉṟu uyar == koḷḷum naaṭaṉ

aṭukkal
அடுக்கல்
296.2 == mammal kavarum naaṭa
298.2 == naḷ uur acai naṭai koṭicci

SESSION IV

TAMIL AND SANSKRIT

JEAN FILLIOZAT

SIEGFRIED LIENHARD

A. MUTHUCCUMARU

MURRAY B. EMENEAU Chairman

TAMIL AND SANSKRIT

JEAN FILLIOZAT

(SUMMARY)

These two languages belong to different linguistic families, but both are Indian and have developed in close contact. Both have been the means of expression of large original literatures. Both have been regularly taught through the centuries according to an early fixed tradition of grammar and rhetorics. From the cultural point of view the main difference between them lies in the fact that Sanskrit has been an All-India language, a general means of communication, like Latin in Europe. This has been the case not only in the various countries of India, but also abroad, in every country where Indian peoples have been established. Tamil has remained the language of Tamilians in India and also of Tamil groups overseas. It has not been extensively used as a *lingua franca* by others than Tamilians. It is for these reasons that many educated men in Tamilnad have enjoyed two cultures at the same time, Sanskrit as well as Tamil, and many authors have enriched both Sanskrit and Tamil literatures.

On account of its comparatively limited use, and also because the double literary knowledge of Sanskrit and Tamil was highly appreciated, Tamil, even, in Tamilnad, has often been somewhat undervalued. On the other hand, as it belongs to the Dravidian linguistic family, it has also been regarded as a language of low peoples, as contrasted with Sanskrit, the most ancient Indo-European language and the alleged mother tongue of the Aryas. So the racial prejudice developed in the 19th century has affected the appreciation of Tamil and the Tamilians. It has been assumed that Tamilians or, more generally, Dravidians were the Dāsas or Dasyus referred to in the Veda as aborigines conquered and civilized by the Vedic Aryans. So Tamil literature has been often considered as a vernacular imitation of Sanskrit literature.

Following a strong reaction against these ideas some authors have claimed a prodigious antiquity for the Tamil language and for its literature. They have considered Sanskrit language and culture as foreign intruders in Tamilnad and resolved to expel them.

Both are wrong. From the scientific point of view, we must leave out any racial or communal prejudice. In the present state of our knowledge, we can only start with the most ancient sources that are actually available.

The first fact we have to note is the coexistence and the intermixing of Sanskrit and Tamil cultures all through their joint history. In consequence of this fact it is evident that Tamil language and culture has always been so strong in its originality that it has not only survived in spite of the permanent pressure of Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages and cultures, but also has always developed parallel with the other languages and cultures.

The first historical reference to Tamil tradition is in the fragments of the work of Megasthenes on India. Megasthenes tells the story of Pandaia, daughter of the Indian "Herakles", queen of Modourai and of the coast of pearl fisheries. As Megasthenes never visited the South, this reference is an evidence that this Tamil story had already spread to the court of Candragupta. Intercourse between North and South had already developed at the end of the 4th century B.C.

In the middle of the 3rd century B.C. the reference in the Aśoka's Rock inscription II to Coḍa, Paṇḍiya and Keralaputra among the independant kingdoms is well known. At that time from the North-Western regions as far as the North of Maisūr, the current language was Prākrit, with different linguistic features in the various regions. Sanskrit, of course, had been in use for a long time for religious, scientific and also probably literary purposes. If Sanskrit lore had already been known in Tamilnad thanks to the intercourse between North and South, it cannot at this time have had much influence on Tamil culture.

Unfortunately we have no precisely dated Tamil texts from this period. But the poems that were later gathered into the famous collections of "Sangam literature" supply us with evidence of numerous and deep relations between Northern and Southern cultures in the period of composition of these poems. Vedic lore and practices were in use at least before the Kaḷabhra *interregnum* (C. 400 A.D.). In spite of this fact, it is well known that loan-words from Sanskrit are not numerous in the oldest poems of Sangam literature, whereas the picture in later literature is quite different. Borrowing from Prākrit, however, must be taken into consideration. They have been adopted into Tamil in the period before the generalization of the use of Sanskrit as a *lingua franca* for All-India.

The beginning of this development takes place in the first centuries A.D., with the appearance of Sanskrit epigraphy and of Hybrid Sanskrit both in epigraphy and in Buddhist texts. The pressure of Prākrits in Tamilnad continued, as Jains using *ardhamāgadhī* and Buddhists using *pāli* were strongly established throughout the South at least from the third century B.C. But the development of Sanskrit as a language of general communication has superseded the influence of Prākrits and led to the introduction of many Sanskrit words in the Dravidian

languages or to the sanskritization of other words. This development was made necessary by the progressive differentiation of the Prākrits leading to an increasing difficulty of mutual understanding. Sanskrit was the only available language that was classically fixed and taught everywhere in India and even in the countries in close contact with India. It cannot have been known by everybody, but it alone was understandable by some people in every country, just as English is now. So it was not confined to religious, scientific or literary uses. It served also for general purposes as it is evidenced by two facts. First, the vocabulary of modern Indo-Aryan languages, in spite of the fact that they fundamentally derived from the Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa, is mainly Sanskrit. Secondly, in Indochina and Indonesia Indian loan-words are from Sanskrit, not from Prākrit, except in countries following the Theravāda school of Buddism, where Pāli words have also been borrowed.

In these countries Sanskrit inscriptions are very numerous and the older literature has also been influenced by Sanskrit, but the Sanskrit words adopted in the colloquial languages cannot have been taken only from inscriptions or *kāvyas*. Their common occurence in the language supposes their use by interpreters and translators from Sanskrit into vernaculars.

Tamil inscriptions are also to be found in South-East Asia and there are Tamil loanwords in the languages of the countries of this region.

They prove (along with other evidences) the presence and activity of Tamilians in South-East Asia, but the Sanskrit predominance is so clear that it is certain that Tamilians also used Sanskrit in the texts they have composed in these countries. The oldest Indian inscription in Indochina, the so called Vocanh inscription, is in literary Sanskrit verses though it alludes to a king who was most probably a PāṇḍiyaN, named as Śrīmāra (i.e. *MāRaN*).

If Sanskrit has been so popular in Tamilnad not only in literary circles but also among the people, it is not because it was imposed from the North by political power or social conquest or literary superiority. Otherwise Tamil would not have simultaneously flourished so strongly right up to the present. It was because Sanskrit was freely accepted by Tamilians, without any prejudice to their own culture, as the best means of diffusion of this very culture in educated circles both of Tamilnad and of All-India. That is why Rāmānuja, for example, who followed the ideas of NammāLvār, wrote his works in Sanskrit.

Sometimes the dominance of Sanskrit has also been exaggerated in some brāhmanical circles of Tamilnad. This is clear if we consider legends like that of the teaching of Tamil grammar by Agastya, coming from the North, to the Tamil poet Nakkīrar. It is apparent too in the story of how Sarasvatī was compelled to be reborn as 48 Tamil *pulavar* representing the letters of Sanskrit, in-

cluding those which do not exist in Tamil.

The vogue of Sanskrit grammar also led sometimes to the composition of grammars, such as the *VīracōLiyam*, after the Sanskrit pattern, which is not as suited to the Tamil language as was the model followed by the *Tolkāppiyam*.

Some scholars among the Tamilians who were proud of their proficiency in Sanskrit have unduly underestimated their mother tongue and its masterpieces, but generally Tamil and Sanskrit cultures have not been in rivalry. They have been harmoniously combined by the genius of so many Tamil *pulavar* who had at their disposal the two richest literary means of expression of India over a period of more than twenty centuries.

AKAPPORUL AND SANSKRIT MUKTAKA POETRY

SIEGFRIED LIENHARD

During the last decades the perspectives and the tasks of Indian studies have been increasing so much that today any scholar of indology requested to describe its aims and its range would probably give a much broader definition of this department of learning than his predecessors and prepredecessors have done. Indian studies are today undergoing a process of reorientation, and together with this reorientation the conception of India, which for a long time had been that of an exclusively Aryan civilization, is being corrected. More than before research workers make it today their study to trace and to examine currents of thought that may have originated from different sources, but in their fusion and amalgamation have formed an integral part of Indian Culture.

The following paper attempts to elucidate certain problems of classical Sanskrit and Prākrit poetry from the point of view of the poetic tradition of South India. It is well known that from the *Tolkāppiyam* onwards Tamil poetics classifies poetry into two major kinds, the *puRapporuḷ* and the *akapporuḷ*. While the *puRapporuḷ* is devoted to the "outer world", the public life, celebrating for example the heroic deeds of a king, *akam* treats of the "inner world" and appears as love poetry. In classical Tamil literature it describes both the secret, prematrimonial love and the love of the wedded couple. Each of these two types of poetry had to obey its own rules, and *Poruḷatikāram* 57 of the *Tolkāppiyam* prescribes that persons figuring in a poem may be mentioned by their individual names in the *puRattiṇai*, but have always to remain unnamed in the different forms of love poetry called the *akattiṇai*. Although there is, as far as I know, no such injunction to be found in Sanskrit poetics, this precept is nevertheless of importance also for poems in Sanskrit and Prākrit. Individual names do occur in the *mahākāvya*, but are never met with in the minor poems written in Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa. As I shall particularize later on, *akapporuḷ* and *muktaka* poetry written in the *śṛṅgārarasa* exhibit a series of further correspondences which are rather surprising.

First a few words concerning the problem of form. We find the earliest classifications of the formal aspect of metrical Sanskrit and Prākrit compositions in Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Daṇḍin distinguishes between minor poems and the "great composition", the *sargabandha*, but considers the minor forms — these are *muktaka* (one stanza poem), *kulaka* (five stanza poem) *koṣa* (anthology

of verses) and *saṃghāta* (minor poem composed in one and the same metre, as for example the *Meghadūta*) — to be already included in the *sargabandha*.[1] This classification is, however, inaccurate and reflects only the habit of the classical period to indiscriminately permeate at the very outset the epic type of the *mahākāvya* with genuinely lyric elements. In many cases the stanzas of the Sanskrit *mahākāvya* are so loosely connected that single verses can very easily be detached from the complete body of the epic[2]. Older and more acceptable is the division of metrical composition given by Bhāmaha[3] and Vāmana[4]. Both authors differentiate between *nibaddha* (in Bhāmaha, *sargabandha*) and *anibaddha*, that is to say, between "connected" and "detached" poetry. While the first type, which is predominantly epic, presupposes the reader to be well acquainted with the several parts of the action and the events that happened before and afterwards, the second type, which is lyric, describes a momentary sentiment, an instantaneous situation. Later authors on *sāhitya* mention as minor forms of poetry, besides the *muktaka* and the *kulaka*, also the *yugalaka* (two stanza poem) and the *sandānitaka* (three stanza poem), but it will be useful to content ourselves here with the term *muktaka*, since it was the *muktaka* which in the domain of Sanskrit and Prākrit literature became the lyric form of love poetry *par excellence*. As it appears to me, the *muktaka* followed at first a tradition that was quite different from that of the *mahākāvya*.

What are now the correspondences which can be pointed out in both the *akapporuḷ* and the *muktaka* poetry ? First of all, both have the same subject in common, since also the majority of the *muktaka* poems are erotic ; both avoid mentioning individual names, and further more a characteristic for both kinds is the brevity of form which is, of course, to be regarded as a salient feature of lyric poesy on the whole. Out of the five *akam* anthologies preserved from the the third Caṅkam, the *KuRuntokai* contains poems of only four to nine lines, and the *NaRRiṇai* poems of nine to twelve lines[5]. Other aspects are, however, more essential than these.

The main laws that were obligatory for an *akam* poet of the Caṅkam are, as all of us know, laid down in the first fifty-seven *cūttiram* of the *Poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*. Its author, TolkāppiyaN, enumerates altogether seven situations of love, but regards only five as true models of love poetry, because *kaikkiḷai*, the unreciprocated love, and *peruntiṇai*, the violent and abnormal love, were held in low esteem by the cultivated taste of his time. The latter were *akattiṇaippuRam*, that is to say, were considered to stand outside the sphere of the *akaNaintiṇai*. Thus the love poetry of the Caṅkam period is mainly grouped under the *aintiṇai*, the famous five forms *kuRiñci*, *mullai*, *marutam*, *neytal* and *pālai*. Each of them is named after a certain flower or plant characteristic of it

and each is associated with a specific geographical environment. Thus *kuRiñci* is brought together with the mountains, *mullai* with the forest and pasture land, *marutam* with the agricultural land, *neytal* with the sea-shore, and finally *pālai* with the desert or any arid tract that has been parched in the scorching heat of summer. Associations of this kind are very numerous and can be classed according to *mutaRpporuḷ*, the basic things, i.e. time and place, *karupporuḷ*, the flora and fauna typical for each region, and *uripporuḷ*, the love aspect suitable for the respective time-units and areas. Although at the first glance this system of poetic features produces the impression of being highly theoretical, there can be no doubt that poets did put them into practice and that the knowledge of the imagery built up by these features[6] is indispensible for a deeper understanding of the Caṅkam poetry. In view of my comparative investigations I wish to point out that the five *akattiṇai*, as a rule[7], are combined with the following times and love situations :

kuRiñci with the cold season (*kūtir*), midnight (*yāmam*) and the union of the lovers (*puṇartaḷ*),

mullai with the rainy season (*kār*), the evening (*mālai*) and the waiting of the beloved for the lover's arrival (*iruttal*),

marutam with the daybreak (*vaikaRai*) and the love-quarrel (*ūṭal*) or the causes of this quarrel (*ūṭalnimittam*),

neytal with the afternoon or the early evening (*eRpāṭu*) and the beloved lady's grief because of her separation from her lover who is travelling by sea (*iraṅkal*), and, finally,

pālai with the heat of summer (*vēNil*), the noon (*naṇpakal*) and the separation of the lovers, because the lover is travelling by land (*pirivu*)[8].

It is interesting to observe that nearly all these elements (*poruḷ*) considered to be most important for the *akam*, also can be traced in the erotic *muktaka* poems in Sanskrit and Prākrit. There the association is possibly more spontaneous, but what is usually wanting is the firm combination with a particular landscape. Otherwise, the *muktaka* stanzas describe exactly those phases of love (*uripporuḷ*) which are employed in the *akam*, and it is surprising to notice that the *muktaka* poet uses as the time-frame of these scenes the same hours of the day and the very same seasons that are part of the fixed repertoire of the *akam*. Again and again, the same situations are presented : The lovers unite happily in the cold winter-night ; at the beginning of the monsoon the beloved longs for the return of the lover ; the love-quarrel impends when the husband, having spent the night in the company of public women, returns to his home by the hour of daybreak ; and, when afflicted by the pangs of separation, the lover travels in summer across the country.

In a somewhat generalizing way one might say that the *kuRiñci* poem of the Tamil tradition corresponds, as far as the *muktaka* is concerned, to the description of the *saṃyogaśṛṅgāra*, the *mullai* and *neytal* poem to the description of the *vipralambhaśṛṅgāra*, the *marutam* poem to the *māna*, the female indignation excited by jealousy, and the last, the *pālai* poem, to the description of the *pathika*, the wayfarer whose travels almost regularly are connected with the heat of the sun and noon-time also in Sanskrit and Prākrit love poetry. Special attention has to be paid to the great weight attached in both the *akam* and the *muktaka* to the idea of separation. The three types listed by TolkāppiyaN coincide, on the part of the *muktaka*, with different aspects of the *viraha* which, as is attested by the Sanskrit rhetoricians, has always been one of the most central conceptions of the *vipralambhaśṛṅgāra* and has won its way also into the language of the mystics.

Like the *akam*, the *muktaka* depicts a situation or sentiment referring mainly to the lover, the *virahiṇī*, the *māninī*, the *pathika*, and very few other persons. While its outer poetic structure is determined by metre, alliteration and similar devices, its inner structure consists, besides of comparison and suggestive speech, above all of that repertoire of associations which combine *kuRiñci* with *kūtir*, *yāmam* and *puṇartal*, *mullai* with *kār* ,*mālai*, *iruttal* and so forth. Sanskrit poetry seems, however, to possess fewer associations, usually only those few which I have mentioned. A much richer choice is offered by the Caṅkam. All the same, we may quite well come across Sanskrit or Prākrit stanzas where the whole inner structure harmonizes most perfectly with the poetic elements of the *akapporuḷ*. I shall quote three in my opinion, very convincing examples from the *Sattasaī* of Hāla, the oldest collection preserved of predominantly erotic *muktaka* verses. In this connection it is to be noticed that the majority of Hāla's poems[9] most probably were composed in South India, since Hāla, the compiler of the anthology, belonged to the royal house of the Śātavāhanas.

Verse 399 reads as follows :

majjhaṇhapatthiassa vi gimhe pahiassa harai saṃtāvaṃ
hiaaṭṭhiajāāmuhamaaṃkajoṇhajalappavaho

"The streams of water from the light of the moon-like face of his (beloved) wife resting in his heart, drives in summer away the heat of the wayfarer who has started his journey at noon-time."

It is not at all difficult to interpret this *āryā*-verse from the point of

view of Tamil rhetoric. In a very distinct way the journey of the lonely traveller is here brought together with the features "summer", "noon-time" and "separation", that is to say, with associations that are exactly identical with the *mutaRporuḷ "vēNil"* and *"naṇpakal"*, and the *uripporuḷ "pirivu"*.

The two other *āryās* I want to cite are *Sattasaī* No. 637 and 638. Both must be classified under the type of the *kuRiñci*.

dhaṇṇā vasanti ṇīsaṃkamohaṇe vahalapattalavaimmi
vāandolaṇaoṇaviaveṇugahaṇe giriggāme
papphullaghaṇakalambā ṇiddhoasilāalā muiamorā
pasarantojjharamuhalā ucchāhante giriggāmā

"Happy are those who live in a mountain hamlet where the sexual union can be enjoyed quite securely, where the hedges are leafy and dense, and where the bamboo-thicket is bowed down by the swinging waves of the wind".

"The mountain hamlets arouse (my desire for love) : there the *kaḍamba* trees are full-blown and dense, the rocks are clean-washed, the peacocks rejoice, and torrents that gush out (from the clefts) resound".

Here again we discover a number of particular features that allow us to unmistakably interpret these poems as *kuRiñci*. In verse 637 the elements of the specific *kuRiñci* imagery are the "sexual union", the "mountain hamlet' and the "bamboo-thicket", and in verse 638 again the "mountain hamlet", then the "peacocks", the "torrents", and the "desire for love".[10] Here too the special *akattiṇai* is marked very clearly.

It has at several occasions been pointed out that Hāla's poems possess "a spirit of closeness to life and common realities which is hardly to be seen in Sanskrit poetry"[11] and that they really describe the way of living and the feelings of the people of the country. Some scholars have even expressed the opinion that the *Sattasaī* on the whole is folk-poetry. Certainly, in its verses we meet very frequently the village-head (*gāmaṇī*), his beautiful daughter (*gāmaṇīdhuā*), the hunter (*vaha*), the hunter's young wife (*vahavahū*), the peasant (*halia*), the maker of garlands (*mālārī*) and the shepherdesses (*govī*). Still there can be no doubt that the *Sattasaī* presents a poetry of very elaborate design and an extremely refined taste and thus is far from being unconventional and simple. If we interpret the *Sattasaī* from the point of view of the *Tolkāppiyam*, new light can also be shed on the occurrence of the aforesaid persons and professions. Since the *karupporuḷ* of the *akaNaintiṇai* also include the inhabitants characteristic for each region, a *mullai* poem will tend to make mention especially of the sherpherds, a *kuRiñci* of the hunters and a *neytal* of the fisher-folk. It seems

to me obvious that Hāla and the other *muktaka* writers also in this respect preserved an old poetic convention.

As previously mentioned, *muktaka* poetry manifests itself as lyric verses describing situations. The poem is either conceived to be uttered by the poet himself or, what is more common, its words are attributed to the beloved (*nāyikā*), the lover (*nāyaka*), the messenger (*dūtī*), or the female friend of the lady-lover (*sakhī*). The reader wishing to understand its meaning must first of all grasp the situation. For that reason, the commentators of Hāla and the later *muktaka* writers (Amaru, Bhartṛhari, Govardhana, etc.)[12] very often advise the reader as to how to judge a given situation and they give explanations as for ex. *kā 'pi proṣitabhartṛkā sakhīm āha*, *dūtī kam apy āha*, etc. The same applies to the *akam*. Also in Tamil love poetry we are faced with a certain situation the understanding of which necessarily precedes the aesthetic enjoyment. When reading for ex. verse 1173 of the *TirukkuRaḷ*,

Katum enat-tām nokkit-tāme kaluḷum
itunakat-takka tuṭeittu,

the *urais* will give us ample explanations with regard to who is here speaking to whom and why. If the dramatis personae of the *akam* are mainly the lover, his friend (*pārpāN*), the beloved and the friend of the beloved (*toLi*), the *muktaka* has as parallel figures the *nāyaka*, the *nāyaka's* companion (*sahacara*), the *nāyikā*, the *dūtī* and the *sakhī*, and it is interesting to note that one of the principal duties of the *toLi* as well as the *sakhī* is to bring about the reconciliation of quarreling lovers. The *Tolkāppiyam* even gives copious instructions about when and to whom the hero, the heroine and the other persons may speak. No such rules are given in the Sanskrit works. Only at a later period Sanskrit and Hindī poetics elaborated cunning theories concerning *nāyaka-nāyikā*-classification.

You will now probably like to ask what sort of conclusions we may draw from all the parallels set forth in this paper? From the facts I have stated results first of all that many connecting links exist between *akam* and *muktaka* and that the grammar of poetry developed by the Tamils had close connections with Sanskrit poetics. It is, however, problematical whether the poetic imagery that is common to both literatures is to be regarded as the product of amalgamation of two basically different traditions or rather as the work of only one, that is to say, only the Dravidian or only the Sanskrit and Prākrit tradition. I do not think that an obvious solution can be found for this problem at present. Though the temptation may be strong to ascribe the imagery I have been talking of to the Tamils, we must not overlook the influence that Sanskrit culture already had

exercised on texts like the *Tolkāppiyam*. The deities presiding over *marutam* and *neytal* are Indoaryan gods, namely[13] Indra and Varuṇa, and, what is more important, the chapters *Meyppāṭṭiyal* and *Uvamaiyīyal* betray familiarity with the *rasa* doctrine and the *upamālaṃkāra*. A cause of considerable difficulty is further the geographical region called *pālai*[14] which, being associated with the desert, would rather point towards a North-Indian origin of this concept. Many of these points demand detailed researches.

Comparative studies in the *akam* and *muktaka* yield, however, another, in my estimation, extremely important result which I mentioned already in the beginning. It is evident that in the domain of Sanskrit and Prākrit poetry the *muktaka*, the lyric verse, at the outset formed an own branch of the metrical *Kāvya*. It was essentially different from the epic *sargabandha*, followed its own rules and was only later on and, as it seems, gradually, combined with the second branch, the *mahākāvya*. It is possible that *muktakas* in the beginning were not written in any other language than Prākrit and that the *āryā*-metre, which so often was used in such stanzas, descends from Dravidian patterns[15]. As far as poetic manuals are concerned, today only the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, treating mainly of the drama, is preserved from the first centuries after Christ. But I am sure that similar works dealing with *kāvya* and especially *muktaka* writing, must have existed at that or even at an earlier time. Since those texts have been lost, we can as yet only guess what kind of rôle the *Tolkāppiyam* played in the reciprocal relationship of the Tamil and the Old and Middle Indoaryan traditions. Obvious is, however, that the *Tolkāppiyam* proves to be a valuable source of information not only with reference to Tamil rhetoric, but also to Sanskrit love poetry of the *muktaka* type.

NOTES

1. *Kāvyādarṣa* I, 13 :
   muktakaṃ kulakaṃ koṣaḥ saṃghāta iti tādṛśaḥ
   sargabandhāṅgarūpatvād anuktaḥ padyavistaraḥ
2. Also the Sanskrit rhetoricians quote many such detached stanzas which, as poetry, are complete in themselves.
3. *Kāvylaṃkāṛa* I, 30. Of the five kinds of *kāvya* noticed by Bhāmaha (*sargabandha*, *abhineyārtha*, *ākhyāyikā*, *kathā*, and *anibaddha*) only the *sargabandha* and the *anibaddha* are here relevant.
4. *Kāvyāālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* I, 3, 27.
5. Cf. A. K. Ramanujan, *The Interior Landscape. Love Poems from a Classical Tamil Anthology*, Bloomington and London 1967, p. 100.

6. A very useful table of survey is given by A. K. Ramanujan, p. 106.
7. In *Poruḷatikāram* 14f. is said that the *mutaR* and *karupporuḷ* may be associated also with other types of areas (*nilam*) than those prescribed, but not the *uripporuḷ*.
8. *Poruḷatikāram* 6-17.
9. Of the altogether seven hundred verses only 430 are contained in all the recensions.
10. See A. K. Ramanujan, p. 106.
11. A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London 1920, p. 224.
12. From Sanskrit love poetry of the *muktaka* type was also introduced into the *rītikāl* literature of Hindi.
13. *Poruḷatikāram* 5. — To *kuRiñci* and *mullai* belong Murukan (identified with Skanda) and MāyōN (identified with Viṣṇu); *pālai* has no deity of its own.
14. Cf. S. Selvanayagam, *The Regional Concept in Tamil Literature*, Journal of Tamil Studies, Vol. I, Number 1 (1969), p. 162, "The arid tracts were referred to as the *pālai* lands, after the *pālai* flower. Since there was no true desert in the Tamil country as the whole area had been subject to the monsoonal rhythm, no such desert landscape was demarcated. It is however true that such a land was recognized as one of the five main types, and it was suggested that due to climatic fluctuations one of the four types mentioned earlier may give way to *pālai*".
15. Cf. *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Princeton 1965, p. 394f. (Indian Prosody).

CHARACTERS IN CIVAKACINTĀMANI

A. MUTHUCCUMARU

Cīvakacintāmaṇi, a literary work of Tiruttakkatēvar has imbibed the best kāvya tradition and poetical conventions in Sanskrit literature and combined them with the early Tamil classical tradition. Thereby, it has evolved a unique kāvya mould that is not found in the kāvyas composed before its period, and has itself served as a model for later Tamil literary compositions, including the famous work *Kamparāmāyaṇam.*

The Jain writer Vādībhasimha alias Oḍayadeva, the author of *Gadyacintāmaṇi* (here after referred to in this paper as Gc.) and *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi* (Kc.), has immensely influenced Tiruttakkatēvar (Tēvar). This aspect can be seen even on a casual perusal of these three books Gc., Kc., and Cc.. Vādībhasimha is definitely earlier than king Bhōja of Dhārā (A.D. 997-1053)[1]. Therefore Cc. must be later than the first half of eleventh century. Moreover, Umāpaticivāccāriyār (C. 1270—1315 A.D.)[2], the author of *Tiruttoṇṭar varalāRu*, in the section *CēkkiLār purāṇam* mentions Cc. as a book, which was very much adored by the king Anapāya[3]. The latter king Anapāya has been identified with Kulōttuṅka II (1133-1150 A.D.)[4]. Therefore one can safely place Cc. between the later half of eleventh century and the twelfth century.

Vādībhasimha has drawn the theme for his works from the *Uttara purāṇa* (Up.) of Guṇabhadra, which serves as a fountain for all the works dealing with Jīvaka story. Though Vādībhasimha borrows the story from Up., he has made many changes in the development of the story. Some parts, such as the story dealing with the previous birth of Jīvaka's brother Nandāḍhya, has been left out and new episodes like the story of Anaṅgatilakā and Bhavadatta have been introduced. This is quite in keeping with the idea that after all, Gc., and Kc. are kāvyas with poetic relish while the Up. being a puraṇa, just enumerates all the characters and the accompanying situations in a prosaic manner.

I The following table, gives at a glance, the list of the same characters occurring in the Up., Gc., Kc., and Cc.

	Uttarapurāṇa	Gadyacintāmaṇi and Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi	Cīvakacintāmaṇi
1.	Lōkapāla	Lōkapāla	UlōkapālaN

2.	Kāṣṭhaṅgāra	Kāṣṭhāṅgāra	KaṭṭiyaṅkāraN
3.	Garuḍavegha	Garuḍavegha	KaluLavēkaN
4.	Gandharvadattā	Gandharvadattā	Kāntarvatattai
5.	Gandhotkaṭa	Gandhotkaṭa	KantōtkaṭaN
6.	Kamalā	Kamalā	Kamalai
7.	Guṇamālā	Guṇamālā	Kuṇamālai
8.	Kumāradatta	Kumāradatta	KumāratattaN
9.	Satyandhara	Satyandhara	CatyantaraN
10.	Sāgaradatta	Sāgaradatta	CākaratattaN
11.	Jīvandhara	Jīvandhara, Jīvaka	CīvakaN
12.	Subhadra	Subhadra	CupattiraN
13.	Sumitra	Sumitra	CumittiraN
14.	Sudarśana	Sudarśana	CutañcaNaN
15.	Suramañjarī	Suramañjarī	Curamañcari
16.	Dhanapati	Dhanapati	TaNapati
17.	Dṛḍhamitra	Dṛḍhamitra	TatamittaN
18.	Dhāriṇī	Dhāriṇī	Tāriṇi
19.	Nandāḍhya	Nandāḍhya	NantāṭṭiyaN
20.	Nirvṛtti	Nirvṛtti	Nipputi
21.	Vimalā	Vimalā	Vimalai
22.	Vijayā	Vijayā	Vicayai

Though there are some more characters in the story of Jīvandhara in Up., Vādībhasimha borrows only the name given above. Out of the names of the characters given above, an interchange in the characterization of Guṇamālā and Suramañjarī is to be noted. The story of Suramañjarī in Up. has been changed into that of Guṇamālā and vice versa. Moreover, instead of the names Ratnāvatī, and Jinadatta in Up., Lakṣmaṇā and Śrīdatta, have been introduced.

II The following list of characters, whose names occur differently in the Up. on one hand and Gc., Kc., and Cc., on the other, with remarks wherever necessary.

	Uttarapurāṇa & Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi	Gadyacintāmaṇi	Cīvakacintāmaṇi	Remarks
1.	Āryavarma	Āryanandi	Accaṇanti	The word 'Ārya' is retained in all works. But, instead of the word 'Varma in Up.,

				the word Nandi has been used in Gc. and Kc. Cc. follows the prākṛt version of 'Āryanandi'.
2.	Kṣemasundarī	Kṣemaśrī	Kāmacari	Instead of 'Sundari in Up. 'Śri' is used in Gc., and Kc..
3.	Gopendra	Govinda	KōvintaN	The word 'Go' is retained in all the books; but instead of Indra in Up., the word 'Vinda' is added in Gc., Kc. and Ccc.. Both the names 'Gopendra' and 'Govinda' mean 'chief of herdsmen'.
4.	Godāvarī	Govindā	Kōvintai	The word 'Go' is retained in all works. In Up., Dāvarī is added to the word 'Go', but in all the other three works the word 'Vinda' is added.
5.	Gopaśrī	Gōdāvarī	Gōdāvari	'Śrī' in Up. has changed into Āvarī in Gc., Kc., and Cc.
6.	Nandā	Sunandā	Cunantai	A prefix 'Su' is added to the word 'Nanda' in Gc., Kc. and Cc..
7.	Padmottamā	Padmā	Patumai	Gc., Kc. and Cc. do not use the word 'Uttama' that is added to the word 'Padma' in Up..
8.	Hemābhā	Kanakamālā	Kanakamālai	In Gc., Kc., and Cc. the word 'Kanaka' a synonym of 'Hema'

			in Up. is used and instead of 'Ābhā' in Up. 'Mālā' is added to 'Kanaka' in Gc., Kc. and Cc..
9.	Jinadatta	Srīdatta	CītattaN Instead of Jina in Up., the word 'Śrī' is used in Kc., Gc., and Cc..

III Vādībhasimha also introduces new characters other than those borrowed from Up., to elaborate his story and all these characters also appear in Cc. They are as follows :-

	Gadyacintāmaṇi & Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi	Cīvakacintāmaṇi	
1.	Yaśodhara	AcōtaraN	
2.	Anaṅgamālā	Anaṅkamālai	
3.	Anaṅgatilakā	Anaṅkamāvīṇai	Instead of the word 'Tilakā' in Gc. and Kc., Cc., has added 'Vīṇai'G
4.	Kubēramitra	KupēramittiraN	
5.	Campakamalā	Caṇpakamālai	
6.	Dhara	TaraN	
7.	Dharmadatta	TarumatattaN	
8.	Narapatidēva	NarapatitēvaN	
9.	Padmamukha	PatumukaN	
10.	Pavanavegha	PavaṇamātēvaN	
11.	Bhavadatta	PavatattaN	
12.	Budhiṣeṇa	PutticēNaN	
13.	Mathana	MataNaN	
14.	Vinayamālā	Vinayamālai	

Besides those borrowed from Gc., and Kc., Cc. introduces characters like Anaṅkavilācinī, Nākamālai, and Vacuntarī who play an important role in the development of the story. The episodes in which they appear are mainly of pure

Tamil classical style. Apart from these characters Tēvar has introduced as given below a large number of minor characters who appear casually, and do not play any important role in the development of the story.

IV

1. Acalakīrti
2. AcalaN
3. AriccantaN
4. Alaṅkāramālai
5. KaNakaN
6. KāmukaN
7. KīrttitattaN
8. Kurutattai
9. KōmukaN
10. KaṭampaN
11. Calaniti
12. CākaraN
13. CiNatattai
14. TanapālaN
15. TēvatattaN, TevamātattaN
16. Tecikappāvai
17. Pavittirai
18. PālakumāraN
19. Piritimati
20. PūraṇacēNaN
21. MaṇivaṇṇaN
22. Vāmalēkai
23. VicayatattaN
24. ViriccikaN
25. Vilāci
26. VīrapattiratēvaN
27. VicayaN
28. CēnaN

The above list of characters in the Jīvandhara story in Tamil and Sanskrit kāvyas would point to the indebtedness of Tēvar to Sanskrit works.

DISCUSSION

Professor Filliozat remarked that the paper presented by Professor Lienhard was an important one. He further underlined that the term *pālai* must be understood in a wider sense, i.e. as "arid tract" and not simply as "desert" and he also expressed his conviction that the imagery that had been traced in the Sanskrit and Prākṛt erotic *muktata* doubtlessly is to be ascribed to the influence of the poetic tradition in Tamil.

The main discussion which followed the paper of Miss Muthuccumaru was about the date of Vādībhasimha, the author of *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi* and *Gadyacintāmaṇi*, which served as the main sources for Tiruttakkatēvar's *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*. This question was raised by Prof. T.P. Meenakshisundaran, the Vice Chancellor, University of Madurai, India.

Miss Muthuccumaru (Oxford) replied about the date of Vādībhasimha, that two main points could be brought to mind; one, the Beḷagāmi grant of Jayasimha II, and the other the reference we find in Śrutasāgara's commentary on Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka campū*.

The Beḷagāmi grant of Jayasimha II (1018 A.D.-1042 A.D.), dated 1036, describes the victory of a śaiva saint named Vādirudraguṇa, in an argument with Vādībhasimha, Vādirāja and other scholars.

Śrutasāgara in his commentary on *Yaśastilaka campū* 2.126 mentions the following statement, " 'Vādībhasimho' pi madīyaśiṣyah, śrīvādirājo'pi madiyaśiṣyah", which shows Somadeva as saying both Vādībhasimha and Vādirāja are his disciples. According to Vādirāja's own statement it is known that he had written his *Pārśvanāṭha carita* in Śāka 947 (1025 A.D.).

Therefore, this chronological evidence and the external evidence one finds about these two works, help to place Vādībhasimha in the latter part of 10th Cent. A.D. and the early part of 11th Cent. A.D.

Prof. M.B. Emeneau (U.S.A.) discussed the etymology of the name *Govinda* and said that it would be more appropriate to say that Tamil KōvintaN had been derived from Skt. Gopendra.

SESSION V

EXTERIOR RELATIONS OF THE TAMIL COUNTRIES

T.P. Meenakshisundaran

H.W. Tambiah

S. Arasaratnam

Heinz Bechert

Philip N. Jenner

Noboru Karashima Chairman

TAMIL AND OTHER CULTURES

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAN

Introduction

1. IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL HISTORY

History is no longer looked upon merely as a story of wars and conquests. It is of greater interest and significance when it narrates the progress of society and culture. Intercultural relationship or cultural diffusion emphasizes international solidarity, as against the old world parochial conception of cultural borrowing. Except when institutions cease to exist, there is bound to be a give and take amongst them. Whenever there are rains, floods inevitably carry everything along with them ; but soon everything settles down in its own place and what is of permanent value remains. The same thing happens when the so called dominant culture overpowers a recessive one. It is the lasting results of cultural diffusion that deserve a scientific study in our progress. "Dominant" merely means the useful. A dominant culture from one point of view may be recessive from another. When the Whites and Red Indians met, potato and tobacco of the latter had a dominant influence on the former. In cultural diffusion there is always a give and take.

2. LANGUAGES IN CONTACT

The contact with the speakers of other languages through the ages has its traces left in the form of a number of words which have become part of current Tamil usage. Similarly Tamil words have entered into the vocabulary of those languages. A rough idea of this kind of mutual influence has been given in my *History of Tamil Language* under the heading, "The External History of Tamil Language". A study of the foreign words has been made by one of my students, Tiru T. S. Manickam of the Osmania University revealing the influence of the Greeks, Romans, Persians, Arabs, Jews, Portuguese, Dutch, French, English, Singalese, Malayans and the Chinese, not to speak of the Malayalis, Kannadiggas, the Telugus, the Mahrattas, the Urdu and other North Indian speakers. Except for studies like that of Dr. Subba Rao of Andhra University on the Indian words in English the study of Tamil words in other languages has yet to be taken up

in depth because it requires the study of Tamil by the people of other languages on the one hand and the study of all the other languages by the students of Tamil on the other.

3. Tamil, the Dravidian

But what we are after is not merely evidence of such contact ; for what we know even now is enough to prove the contact of Tamil speakers with speakers of almost all the important languages of the world. Tamil is an international language in the sense that it is the mother tongue of a number of groups in many independent States all over the world — India, Ceylon, Malaysia, Singapore, Fiji, South Africa, East Africa, not to speak of the educated Tamilians studying or serving in Europe, Australia and America.

4. The Deeper Level

But what is of greater interest is the diffusion of cultures at a deeper level, the influence of literature, religion and philosophy.

5. Influence of other Cultures of India

Tamil language belongs to the Dravidian family of languages. The majority opinion at present seems to hold that the language of the Indus valley inscriptions was one form of a protodravidian. The Dravidians taken as referring not to a separate race but to the speakers of Dravidian languages must have naturally influenced the other peoples and cultures of this great land of India, even as they in turn should have been influenced by others. As the story of the influence of Sanskrit on the Tamil is dealt with by Dr. Filliozat, one may rest content here with pointing out how, thanks to the Dravidian, the phonology of the languages of India converged to have the cerebrals, how more or less a pan-Indian syntax developed where the predicate generally comes in time to occupy the final position in the sentences.

6. The Importance of the region of Origin

Amongst the Dravidian languages, Tamil developed an excellent literature from the beginning of the Christian era and its writing system unlike the systems of other Dravidian languages still preserves the unique Dravidian features whilst the alphabet system of others is completely modelled on the Sanskrit. As

a result people were misled into arguing that these Dravidian languages were Prākṛts or corruptions of the Indo-Aryan Sanskrit. Therefore, it is easier to start from Tamil, in studying this diffusion, especially for recognizing the Dravidian elements, provided one does not forget that there must have been diffusion into the Tamil culture as well. It must also be remembered that because a work is in Sanskrit it should not be assumed that it represents purely an Aryan culture ; for people of all regions used Sanskrit as their *lingua franca.* A book in English written by a Tamilian has to be taken as representing, to a certain extent, the culture of the writer in the Tamil country. Śaṅkara belongs to Kerala when it did not separate itself from the world of Tamil and according to the tradition relating to *Saundarya Lahari* he refers therein to the sweet flowing verses of St. TiruññāNacampantar, one of the Tamil Tēvāram hymnologists. Rāmānuja born near Madras at Śri Perumpūtūr in Tamil land, gave in his Sanskrit works according to tradition the message of the Tamil poets and saints of Vaiṣṇavism. The vaiṣṇavism of Maṇavāḷa MāmuNi and others is aggressively Tamilian. Similarly *Śaiva Siddhānta,* as uniquely interpreted by St. Meykaṇṭār and his line, though influenced by other śaivite philosophers of the North, represents the culture and message of the Tamil saints. There are works which do not claim any author except as coming from Ṛṣi Śuka, for instance like the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* ; and one has then to find its place of origin. It is therefore, of great interest to learn that according to many a scholar the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* had its origin in southern India. Similarly the largest recension of the *Mahābhārata* is the southern version and, therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the extra verses in the southern version are the contributions of the southern Indian culture. Except for these basic generalizations, it is not intended to evaluate or summarize these contributions in this paper.

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Bhakti Cult spreads from Tamil Land

1. General Trends

The purāṇas — the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Bhaviṣyat* — speak of the Bhakti being born as a young girl in the Drāviḍa or the Tamil country (more specifically in some versions on the banks of Kāvēri and Tāmparaparṇi) and going all over south India until she becomes aged in Gujarāt. This is certainly a reference to the Bhakti cult being a contribution of the Tamils through their Śaivite NāyaNmār and the vaiṣṇavite ĀLvār. There are various trends in this Bhakti movement

of Tamil land and when one speaks of its diffusion all over India, it is only a few aspects of this, that are found here and there in the various regions of India. A general or composite picture is given here so as to trace the origin of the trends in the Tamil world : and, even there, it must not be assumed that all these trends are found in one author.

(a) *Service* : The Bhakti movement in its early stages in Tamil land is not given to emotional outburst ; nor is its intellectual aspect forgotten. The common emphasis is on seeing God in man. Social service is divine service. *Kai-t-toṇṭu* or manual work in such service is made holy.

(b) *No World Negation* : Though non-attachment is preached, all these saints do not plead for renunciation. Some of them are married and their wives are equally great. There are women saints like the Śaivite Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār and the Vaiṣṇavite Āṇṭāḷ. These are saints and mystics and their poems assure us of their experience of God. The world, the play of the Lord, the concrete form of His Grace, the best school instituted by the Lord for our regeneration, is full of beauty as one great incarnation of God. "One can live well in the world because God is with the Lady of His Grace" sings St. TiruññāNacampantar and he enjoys the beauties of Nature surrounding the shrines of the Lord, from this point of view. Children are divine symbols and he sings in a poetic vein, of the Heaven of Temple (*TiruviLimiLalai*) coming down enchanted by the simple music of a lullaby sung by a young rustic mother living in a mountain.

(c) *Music* : The poems of these Bhaktas were generally musical compositions. St. TiruññāNacampantar speaks of the music which purges all the passions out of the heart which then blossoms forth in purity and reveals the pure light of God.

(d) *One Community*: The servants of God form one community of love and service. They do not believe in the caste system or its hierarchy. Harijans like NantaNār are wanted by God and some like Nīlakaṇṭa YāLppāṇa are taken by the saints likes Campantar to the place of the sacred fire or to the sanctum sanctorum as TiruppaṇāLvār was done.

St. Tirumūlar asserts that there is only one God and only one community. Vaiṣṇavites speak of *Toṇṭakkulam*, the community of servants of God. Rāmānuja is said to have thrown open the gates of the temple at Mēlkote in Mysore to all, including Harijans, and even to this day, this temple is kept open for Harijans for only a month every year, probably due to the caste rules and untouchability once again asserting themselves after the days of Rāmānuja, till in our age, law has abolished untouchability, it is hoped, once for all.

(e) *Love and Mysticism* : The Bhaktas use the language of love, premarital and postmarital love. But they do not descend to the level of mere eroticism. As

the mystic experience cannot be described except in terms of symbols, the story of love to God comes in handy. St. Tirumūlar has boldly equated Love with God. The *Caṅkam poetry* of the noumenon (*aka-p-pāṭṭu*) took love alone as the fundamental universal inner reality whose various aspects are sung in terms of a lover and his lady love. The emphasis is on the universal rather than on the particular which can be dated. It is the ideal love which is spoken of by the ĀLvārs and saints following Tirumūlar's identification of love with God. The saints and ĀLvārs sing of their love for God. There is thus a continuity in love poetry from the Sangam age to Bhārathi, the Tamil National Poet of modern times.

(f) *Meaningless Ritualism*: At least Siddhas especially Śivavākkiyar who may have lived in the Tenth century, condemned the meaningless rituals which are repeated without their symbolic significance being understood. When the idol is not recognised as a symbol and is mistaken for the reality, it becomes a fetish. Without reference to the inner presence of God, the worship of the idol is absolutely futile, according to Śivavākkiyar. To those who do not realise divine presene everywhere, the rituals of a bath in the holy rivers and similar blind superstitions are useless even according to St. Appar. But there is not a clear cut distinction made between *Nirguṇa* worship and *Saguṇa* worship. These poets and saints easily pass from one to the other. Even the *advaitins* do not condemn *Saguṇa* worship though they have not accepted it as the final end. *Sakala* and *Niṣkala* forms of worship are also spoken of. When one realises God's presence everywhere, the beautiful forms according to Rāmānuja are in one way a special incarnation of God's *Sundara* (Beauty) aspect. This theory of Beauty should not be taken as justifying the worship of the fetish.

(g) *Politics and Religion* : There has not been always a conflict between politics and religion. But the divine writer thinks of the presence of God in the ruling king looked upon therefore as a representative of Viṣṇu. There is also the practice of raising a temple on the remains after the cremation of kings, called *Paḷḷippaṭai-k-koyil*, though this does not reach the perfection of the *Devarāja* cult found on the Eastern Seas. But when the Śaivites and the Vaiṣṇavites came to revolt against the world negating principles of some Buddhists and Jains at later times, these later probably used their political influence with monarchs against this new onslaught on their power. The Pallava King Mahendra VarmaN and the Pāṇḍya King NeṭumāRaN were ardent followers of Jainism. St. TiruññāNacampantar succeeded in converting the Pāṇḍya king to Śaivism. St. Appar had to suffer the consequences of the enmity against him of the Jains who were patronised by Mahendra VarmaN Pallava according to the traditions ; and in one of his songs Appar sings "We are not the slaves of any one ; we are not even

afraid of hell as long as Śaṅkara protects us. We are not here to follow the dictates of kings, parading on the elephants richly clothed in their silk dress". This attitude is glorified in the poems of the National Poet Bhārathi of the Twenthieth century. There are also statements found here and there, for instance, Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram* says that when Bhaktas are not well cared for the country goes to ruins. This reminds us of Guru Nānak's protest against Babar and his condemnation of human slaughter by kings.

2. Aspects in Bhakti Cult found elsewhere

All these various trends though sometimes of minor importance are enumerated here to show that the trends which developed in the Bhakti cult elsewhere in India had their starting point in South India itself. The ethical emphasis, the intellectual certitude, the emotional glow of pure intelligence looking upon social services as divine service, the neglect of caste and other differences so as glorify the saints of the so called lower caste as found in Mahārāṣṭra, Āndhra, Karnāṭaka and North India, may also be found in Tamil land and Tamil culture.

3. Contact

There were the Tamilian contacts with Āndhra and Karnāṭaka. The Tamil influence could have spread to Mahārāṣṭra through Cālukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa empires. Later when the Maharatta Kingdom had its branch at Tanjore there was a more direct influence as a result of which the Śaivites stories and Vaiṣṇavite stories of South India flowed into the Marathi literature produced at Tanjore.

4. Cosmopolitanism

There is a cosmopolitan outlook and emphasis on the one world idea, though in later times a certain intolerance and narrow nationalism began to assert at times as a reaction against the foreign influence of the aggressive missionary religions. Others have also emphasized the fundamental unity of India. In the Tamil country over and above this fundamental unity of India, there was also cosmopolitanism. The Caṅkam poet PūṅkuNRaNār sang "Every village is my native village and everyone is my kith and kin". St. Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of this cosmopolitanism as the fruit of education. "Any village becomes our native village, any land our native land. Why then a man does not educate himself till death?"

St. Tirumūlar asserts "There is but one God" implying that he is the father and exclaims "There is but one community, a family of human beings". Avvaiyār, the idealised woman saint expressing the folk idea, states that there are but two castes in this world ; the caste of the munificent and the great and that of the miser and the mean. St. Cuntarar enumerates the names of the great ones of Tamil land who irrespective of the caste, creed, sex and age become great in the eye of the Lord when they choose any one kind of service to Man as their way of divine worship, and live upto it giving up their lives and relatives if that ideal could not be lived upto. This enumeration is for encouraging with the promise of Divine Blessings the crestfallen and depressed Tamil land of his times. But he is anxious that he should not be taken as parochial and therefore speaks of the Divine Democracy of Love and Service belonging to all lands beyond the Tamil country, and living not only in his age but also in the ages which went before his and which will succeed his, forming thus the Universe of Man of all times and climes. He falls at the feet of all of them. The beautiful phrase *appālum aṭi cārntār* "those who beyond the Here and Now took refuge in the feet of the Lord" has been interpreted thus by St. CēkkiLār who came to describe the stories of the Tamil saints in the Kāvya style. This CēkkiLār uses the world *ulaku ellām* "all the world" at the beginning, at the centre and at the end of his great Kāvya. There is a tradition that he was divinely inspired to use this phrase *ulaku ellām* implying the great message, we have been trying to explain. St. Aruṇagirināṭar of the Vijayanagar Kingdom speaks of His Lord inhabiting every temple in existence all round the world. St. Rāmaliṅga the saint of '*Samarasa Sanmārga*, the path of Truth which is the common and basic experience everywhere speaks, like Tirumūlar, of God as the Father and the whole humanity as His children knit together by *ānma neya orumaippāṭu* "the unity of the love amongst the souls".

5. Wandering Saints

The saints of India practised this cosmopolitanism travelling not only all over India but also through other lands. It is indeed a wonder how in those far-off times, without any quick means of travel, the ideas spread through the length and breadth of India and beyond, thanks to those wandering servants of God. St. TiruññāNacampantar and St. Cundarar must have gone to Ceylon, to the Himalayas and to the distant Kedar. St. Tirumaṅkai ĀLvār must have gone to the northern seats of Vaiṣṇavite worship — Naimisāraṇya & Badrināth. Saṅkara travelled all over India ; Rāmānuja, Maṇavāḷa MāmuNi and other Vaiṣṇavite saints and scholars succeeded in spreading the message of the ĀLvār

so much so not only *Viśiṣṭādvaita* has become an all India philosophy like Advaita but their followers outside Tamil land also have transcribed the poems of the ĀLvār in the scripts of their mother tongue in Telugu, in Kannada, in Hindi, in Gujarati and lately in Bengali. This wandering tribe of God is responsible in carrying the Bhakti cult to other parts of Northern and Southern India. Probably this is the result of the older influence of the world religion of the Buddha. South Indian influence is found not only in India but also in Ceylon and the Eastern seas.

6. Tradition of the spread

It is this which gives credence to the stories of the connection between the Rāmānuja school and Rāmānand and of the connection between Kambar's *RāmāyaNa* and *Tulasi Rāmāyaṇam*. Saints of the North like Guru Nānak and Tulasi have travelled to the South and to this day the cosmopolitanism is being kept alive by this tribe of wandering fakirs, Siddhas, Vairāgis and other servants of God. What has to be emphasized here is that this trend was very noticeable in the Bhakti movement of Tamil land.

7. Siddha Creeds

That truth was beyond creeds and discussions dogmas and caste distinctions, was also clearly stated in no unmistaken terms by the Tamil saints. God is the god of all. Their approach is not the negative way like that of Guru Nānak, "There is no Musulman, there is no Hindu" but in the positive way "He is all and he is everywhere and that everyone is His" NammāLvār speaks of even Hell being God. There has developed especially amongst the common folk the reverence for all religions, thanks to the followers of *Nātha pant*, sūfis, the fakirs and saints of all religions of South India, as against the intolerence of the learned few. These even now flock to the doors of the mosque, the church and the temple to be blessed by the pure in heart. The works of the sūfis like Pir Muhamad is found in the collection of Tamil poems of the Siddhas and the names of the *Nāthas* of the Nātha pant like Gorakha and Matsyendra are also found therein.

8. Common intellectual climate

Mention has been made of the Siddhas of Tamil who were often iconoclastic. *Vacanagaḷus* of the vīraśaiva Saints in Kannaḍa and the *Padyas* or verses of Vēmana of Telugu country may appear to the Tamilians as echoes of

the verse of their Siddhas. Here is probably an evidence of a common intellectual climate rather than any direct borrowing.

Ramayana of Kampan

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is being claimed as their own by all the peoples of India and the Far East, with versions in each one of the languages of this extensive region. There had been a translation of this epic in Tamil in an earlier age; but the most popular and famous one is that by KampaN variously dated from the Ninth to the Thirteenth century of the Christian era. It is also spoken of as a dramatic epic explaining that story as the incarnation of God as Man. There is no other literary work in Tamil as great as this. Christians and Muslims — not to speak of the Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites, praise this as the greatest poetic work in Tamil. People often get the whole epic by heart and it has been going round by word of mouth, so much so there are innumerable readings of the text. Since its birth up to the present times, its popularity has always been growing wherever Tamil is spoken.

(a) *In Kannaḍa and Kerala*: The wonder is, it was equally popular in the Kannaḍa and the Kerala countries. A Kannaḍa inscription of the fourteenth century speaks of the exposition of KampaN's *Rāmāyaṇa* in a temple in the Kannaḍa country. The Kerala people deified KampaN and that shows the high esteem they had for him and his work. According to a tradition before the *Rāmāyaṇa* war started in Laṅka the kingdom of Rāvaṇa, Śiva ordered Durgā who was guarding the city of Rāvaṇa, to leave her place and go away so that Rāma could have to that extent a free entry. Durgā, the goddess of war and in a way the consort of Śiva, pleaded with Him that she should not be deprived of witnessing the greatest of the wars — the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Śiva promised that she would see this war in a much more interesting way, for poetry in which He intended to tell the story is more truthful and more interesting than the facts whose implications are not clear to the participants and sight-seers of the drama of real life. Śiva, according to this promise, came to be born as KampaN and wrote the dramatic epic of *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the Śiva temples of Kerala, especially in the North Kerala, during festivals, one has the *Rāmāyaṇa* enacted as a marionette play, the figures being cut out of leather. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of KampaN had been thus made into 32 marionette plays or shadow plays. Men sing the verses behind the screen and conversations in Malayālam are elaborated as beautiful and humorous commentaries on the *Kamparāmāyaṇa* verses, with slight changes making the verses into dramatic speeches of characters. The idea is that these 32 dramas were intended for fulfilling the promise of Śiva to Durgā.

In the South Kerala Temples as the late lamented poet and scholar Tiru Tesika Vināyakam Piḷḷai once told me there are endowments for reading and expanding the *Kamparāmāyaṇa* as evidenced by the inscriptions of these temples. All these evidences go only to prove the prominent position of *Kamparāmāyaṇa* in Kerala. It is however curious that *Kamparāmāyaṇa* is not so well known in the Telugu country.

(b) *Influence on Tulasi :* The influence of *Kamparāmāyaṇa*, some claim, is found in Northern India in the great *Rāma Caritamānasa* of Tulasi Dās. According to the Śiva mutts of *Dharmapuram* and *TiruppaNantāL* of Tanjore, their follower Kumarakuruparar went to Banaras, preached *Kampa Rāmāyaṇa* in Hindi and established his mutt on the banks of the Ganges. It was assumed by some Tamil scholars that Tulasi Dās should have heard the Tamil version through such Hindi lectures. But unfortunately Tulasi Das wrote his *Rāmāyaṇa* long before Kumarakuruparar could have come to Banaras. Tulasi Dās however had been to the south up to Rāmeśvaram in the Tamil country and it is not impossible that he might have heard the story as told by KampaN. Tulasi himself states that he has brought in stories as told in other places. KampaN's Sītā and Rāma see each other and begin to love each other from that time, even before the *Svayamvara* of the bow takes place the next day. This premarital love is according to the best traditions spoken of in early Tamil poetry called the Caṅkam poetry. It is important to note that Tulasi also introduced this premarital love — Sitā sees Rāma when she goes to offer Puja. My friend Dr. Shankar Raj of the Madras University has worked out this thesis of Tulasi's dependence on KampaN at great length.One need not argue at any length on the dependence of even *Kamparāmāyaṇa* or Vālmiki but it must be added that KampaN in addition had followed and developed the stories of Rāma as found in the poems of ĀLvārs — stories which must have been popular in the folk stories and songs of Tamil land. But one has to mention the influence of the story of *Mahirāvaṇa* probably belonging to Bengal and their poet Kṛttivāsa; *MayilrāvaṇaN Katai* is a narrative Tamil poem of later times, popular among the women folk of Tamil land. The influence of the Caitanya school probably brought this story to Tamil land.

Tamil and Kerala

(a) *Kerala Tamil Poets :* In ancient times it was Tamil literature that was accepted as their own by the Keralites. The great Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram* is considered to have been born in Kerala. CērāmāN Perumāḷ, the Śaivite Tamil poet and *NāyaNmār* was a Kerala King ; so was the Tamil poet and Vaiṣṇavite ĀLvār Kulaṣēkara-p-Perumāḷ. Venāṭṭaṭikaḷ was a Śaivite poet of Kerala. It

was only later than the Tenth century, that Malayāḷam literature was born with the writing of *Rāmacarita*, though some would claim that it is also in Tamil. But later literature especially the one developed by the Nambudiris in the *Maṇipravāḷa* style was in Malayāḷam or Kerala Tamil.

(b) *Malayāḷam becomes a Literary Language* : This is not to deny the existence of Malayāḷam as a language of that country from very early times. Even when Malayāḷam became important as a language of literature it was known as *Kēraḷa-tami*Ḷ as distinguished from the *Cen TamiL* of the Pāṇḍya and the CōLa countries. *Līlā Tilakam* perhaps for the first time boldly came forward to write the grammar of this Malayāḷam in Sanskrit with copious Malayāḷam illustrations, after a deep study of this language ; but this shows also an intimate and deep knowledge of *Cen TamiL*.

(c) *Kaṇṇassa and Tamil literature* : The Kaṇṇassa poets have an important place in the history of Malayāḷam literature. One of them translated *Bhagavad Gītā* and in a paper submitted to the Oriental Conference I pointed out that this was an adaptation or translation of the Tamil version of the *Bhagavad Gītā* by Bhaṭṭar, who explained the *Bhagavad Gītā* in Tamil in terms of Śaṅkara's commentary. Tiru Unnikiḍa, my then colleague at the Presidency College and now Professor of Malayāḷam in the Government Arts College, Madras, has prepared a work confirming my thesis after an exhaustive comparative study of the Tamil work and the Malayāḷam one.

(d) *Later Times* : Even as late as the Nineteenth century many of the records of the Travancore Kingdom were kept in Tamil. The story of the *Tiruviḷāiyāṭa*R*purāṇam* describing the merciful *līlā* or miraculous plays of Śiva of Madurai especially *Valaivīciya Tiruviḷaiyāṭaḷ* the story of God coming to fish with a fishing net was so very popular that a Malayāḷam translation from Tamil was made and it is now available. A Vedānta work very popular in the South is the Tamil *Kaivalya Navanītam* and this used to be recited in Tamil itself by the Kerala saṃnyāsins ; but there is also a Malayāḷam translation of the work. Even Tamil dramas like *MiNākṣi Pariṇayam* in Tamil had been transcribed and printed in Malayāḷam script in the Nineteenth century. This shows the influence of Tamil as late as the last century.

Tamil and Kannada

(1) General : Sixty-three saivite saints

(a) *Importance* : In describing the Bhakti cult of Tamil land the importance of Śaivite NāyaNmārs was pointed out, with their emphasis on the life

for an ideal — any kind of service to man as a form of divine worship. St. Cuntarar gives us the list of these ancient saints in his famous hymn called *Tiru-t-toṇṭa-t-tokai*. He gives both a list of the groups of saints and a list of individual saints. The later generation especially in the Kannaḍa country began to speak of sixty-three ancient men *Triṣaṣṭi puruṣās* as a parallel to the sixty-three puruṣās of the jain purāṇas consisting there of the twelve *cakravartis*, twenty four *Tīrthankaras*, nine Vasudevas, nine Baladevas and nine *prativāsu devas*. Some of the groups mentioned by St. Cuntarar are omitted, some misunderstood and added to make up the sixty-three individual saints. The names of Cuntarar himself, his father CaṭayaNār and his mother *IcaiñāNiyār*, are added to the sixty mentioned by Cuntarar making up the required number of sixty-three. *Aruvattumūvar* (the sixty-three saints) is a term well known not only in the Karnāṭaka and the Āndhra country but also in Tamil where this Kannaḍa influence came to be felt in later times.

(b) *Various versions —Developments* : After St. Cuntarar, Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi probably in the early part of the ninth century gathered the available tradition about these saints and in a summary manner sang one verse on each one of the saints. This is called *Tiru-t-toṇṭar-tiru-v-antāti* and is found in the Eleventh *TirumuRai* or volume of Śaivite hymns consisting in all of Twelve volumes. CēkkiLār of the Twelfth century wrote his famous *Kāvya Periyapurāṇam* giving the stories of these saints. It is really the story of St. Cuntarar but there in a vision St. Cuntarar sees all these saints with messages of their lives made clearer. In that way the lives of the saints are described within the story of Cuntarar himself. It is in the Twelfth century that the CōLa king, Rāja Rāja II built his famous temple now known as Dārāsuram (really Rājarājapuram) near Kumbakoṇam in the Tanjore District. The important fact is that in this temple we get the story of each one of the saints represented in a panel running round the middle of the wall of the temple. CēkkiLār was a minister of the CōLa empire and had access to all the available records relating to the stories of these saints. He probably made a personal tour round the country for this purpose. He is naturally much more reliable especially when he describes the villages which were the birth places of those saints, the journeys which the saints undertook etc. But there must have been many folk stories about these saints circulating and growing from time to time, ever since Cuntarar gave his list. One sees the difference between the version implied by the sculptures of Dārāsuram and that of *Periyapurāṇam*. There must have been many more stories circulating amidst the common-folk full of folk psychology and folk-etymology and with any ammount of corruptions in the names of the saints. There are also versions in Sanskrit. The *Upamanya Bhaktavilāsa* claiming to be an original work is only a

translation of CēkkiLār's work; the work attributed to Agastya is another; *Skandapurāṇa* gives its own versions probably based on the folk stories. The *sthalapurāṇas*, local traditions of the various temples, connected with the lives of the saints, give other versions naturally based on these local traditions.

(c) *Harihara* : The Vīraśaivites took these sixty-three saints as their ancient saints — the purātanapuruṣās, their messages forming as it were the bedrock of *Vīraśaivism*. All their various works are full of references to those stories. The great Harihara of the Twelfth century has given the stories of these saints in the poetic form called *ragaḷe* in Kannaḍa. When one reads his *NambiaṇṇaN RagaḶai* and others one is convinced of the truth of the tradition that Harihara went round the Tamil country to the places of the birth of these saints, for learning more about these saints. *NambiaṇṇaN RagaḶai* gives a true local colouring to the story even going to the extent of transcribing a piece of Tamil speech of Tiruvārūr. Therefore his *RagaḶai* must be taken to be giving the tradition as he heard them from the mouth of the local residents of Tamil land of those times. It is thus clear there was a wide-spread interest in the stories of these saints in the Twelfth century both in the Tamil and the Karnāṭaka countries.

(d) *Various versions* : Dr. Dorairangaswamy (Professor of Tamil, Madurai University) in his work on *Cuntarar Tēvāram* has made a detailed and comparative study of the three versions — the version of the *Skandapurāṇa*, the version of the *Periyapurāṇam* and the version of the Dārāsuram sculptures. A comparative study of the version as found in Harihara and other Kannaḍa writers and the version as found in Telugu literature along with the versions already studied inclusive of the sculptures found in places other than Dārāsuram for instance those in TiruppaNantāḶ temple has to be yet made. How deep the influence of the stories of the sixty-three saints of Tamil land had become may be seen by enumerating the works — important works at that — in Kannaḍa especially the works of these Vīraśaivites.

(2) In Kannada Specifically

(a) *A comparative study : Popular trends* : Saints, great classical poets, and other poets popular among the common people have written in Kannaḍa about these saints of Tamil land. This is sufficient evidence to prove the deep-rooted influence of this kind of Tamil culture. The corrupted forms of the names of the saints show wherefrom the original came viz., the common man.

(b) *Studies* : The learned and authoritative edition of the Kannaḍa poet Suraṅgama's *Triṣaṣṭi purātanapuruṣa caritram*, produced by my friend

Dr. Hiremath, Professor and Head of the Department of Kannaḍa of the Karnāṭaka University has been of great help in preparing this part of the essay, since his valuable introduction compares the various Kannaḍa versions with that found in the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam.* The lists of books and the dates for a few of them are taken from that important work

(c) *Works dealing directly with the sixty-three saints:*

Author	*Name of the Work*
Harihara	Purātana ragaḷagaḷu — twelfth century
Suraṅga	Triṣaṣṭi purātana caritram — fifteenth century
Vīrabhadra	Aruvattumūvaru purātana caritra
Śivayoga Sōmēśvara	Aruvattumūvaru Sāṅgatya
Nijaguṇayōgi	Purātana trividhi
Kalale nambirāja	Aruvattumūvaru trividhi
Unknown	Purātana Deviyara trividhi
Unknown	Aruvattumūvaru purātana caritra
Unknown	Prāktanagna Kathāvali
Unknown	Purātana prakaraṇagaḷu
Kumāra cenna Basava	Purātana carite
Bhadravīra suta	Purātana purāṇa samkṣēpa vilāsa
Unknown	Sarvapurātanara purāṇa
Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍēśa	Śivatattva Cintāmaṇi (a few chapters)
Virūpākṣa paṇḍita	Cenna Basava purāṇa (Chapters) (1584)

(*b*) *Works referring to the sixty-three saints:*

The following are the Kannaḍa books which while dealing with other subjects refer to these saints.

Author	*Name of the Work*
Bommarasa	Saundara Purāṇa (1450 A.D.)
Aṇṇāji	Saundara Vilāsa (1600)
Unknown	Saundareśana Aruvattumūvarulīlā
Unknown	Saundareśana Yakṣagāna
Cēramāṅga	Cērama Kāvya (1562)
Mahādēva	Siriyāḷa Seṭṭiya sāṅgatya (1650)
Unknown	Siriyāḷaseṭṭiya ragaḷe

Unknown	Siriyāḷa Seṭṭiya Vardhiga
Śāntakavi	Siriyāḷa Satva Vardhiga Parīkṣa
Mahānta Dēsika	Siriyāḷana caritra
Jayarama Cārya	Siriyāḷa Rāja
Liṅga	CōLa Rāja Sāṅgatya (PugaLcōLa) 1530)
Tribhuvana tata	PugaLCōLa ragaḷe
Unknown	Kaṇṇapparava RagaḷE
Unknown	NakkanāyaNāru Susīlayara caritra

(e) *Corruption of Names etc* : The following are given as samples of the corruption of the Tamil names transmitted from Tamil through word of mouth and suffering transformation when pronounced by Kannaḍigas.

(1) *Meypporuḷ NāyaNār* : *Meypporuḷ NāyaNār* is known in Kannaḍa after his kingdom as Cēdirāja ; the part round Kōvalūr in the South Arcot District in Tamil land was known as the *Cēdi* Kingdom.

Mūrti NāyaNār is known in Kannaḍa as *Olagāṇṭa Mūrti*. St. Cuntarar describes him as *Mummaiyāl Ulakāṇṭa Mūrti*. "Mūrti who ruled the world with the three viz. *Rudrākṣa*, *Vibhūti* and *Jaṭā*" and therefore the Kannaḍa tradition must have known Cuntarar's line. In the Tamil version this NāyaNār becomes a king after the rule of the Kannaḍigas at Madurai, but in the Kannaḍa version he is not a ruler. Olagāṇṭa "Who ruled the world" becomes meaningless in that tradition, but without understanding the meaning that Tamil attribute was continued as a part of the name in the Kannaḍa tradition.

(2) *Tirunāvukkaracu* is known in Kannaḍa by the corresponding Sanskrit name "Vāgīśa" which is also known in the Tamil country.

(3) *MūrkkanāyaNār* is known as Acyuta probably a proper name current in some traditions.

(4) *Cēramān Perumāḷ NāyaNār*, which is the name prevalent both in the Kerala and the Tamil country, occurs in the colloquial Kannaḍa form as *Cērama*.

(5) *Śakti NāyaNār* is known as Kālacittia perhaps through folk etymology.

(6) *NeṭumāRaN*, the Pāṇḍya, is known as *Saundarapāṇḍya* probably because his hunchback became beautiful and straight after having been cured by St. TiruññaNacampantar.

(7) *IṭankaLi NāyaNār* is known as *Edagelava*, a colloquial Kannaḍa form.

(8) *Maṅkayarkkaraci* appears as *Maṅgayakkarasi* and *Kāraikkāl as Karikāl.*

(9) *Taṇṭi NāyaNār* is known in Kannaḍa as *Nāṭyamigu* Daṇḍiśa. This saint was blind but later was blessed with eyesight and therefore St. Cuntarar described him in his list as *Nāṭṭamiku Taṇṭi* (*nāṭṭam* — eye). Therefore the Kannaḍa tradition knows Cuntarar's work but because the people in the Kan-

naḍa country could not understand the meaning of the Tamil attribute, they have made it "nāṭyamigu" (nāṭya=dance) according to folk etymology.

(10) IḷaiyāNkuṭi MāRaN is known in Kannaḍa as *Elayāndagudi MāRan*. *Iḷaiyāṅkuṭi*, a village in Ramnad, was the native place of this *MāRa NāyaNār*. It means the residential place named after one IḷayāN. For purposes of meter St. Cuntarar in his song describes it as "*IḷayāNRaṅkuṭi*" (the *kuṭi* or village of IḷayāN). This R pronounced now as a double *r*, as pointed out by me elsewhere, was pronounced in ancient times as an alveolar plosive and in the absence of this alveolar, the Kannaḍigas equated it with their retroflex plosive and hence the form Ilayāṇḍa. This again shows that the Kannaḍa tradition knew the verse of St. Cuntarar.

(11) *Others : KulacciRai, Kalikkāmar, KaLaRciṅkaN* and *KōcceṅkaṇaN* are all wrongly written respectively as *Kalaceva, Kalaceṅga*, and *Kalaceṅga Perumāḷ*. This we can detect from looking into the stories described under these heads.

KūRRuva NāyaNār occurs as *Vēlkōta*. According to *Periyapurāṇam*, he belongs to the tribe of *Iruṅkōvēḷ*. *Kōta* is a corruption of *KūRRuva* or *KūRRa* which may become Kutta or Kōta.

IyaRpakai appears as *Ihappagai*. Bhīmakavi Sadakṣara dēva and Gubbiya Mallaṇārya give this name as *Sindu Ballala*. We shall explain this when dealing with the Āndhra influence.

(3) Variations in the Story

One may now turn to the variations in the stories. The variations show that they came not from the classical Tamil literature like *Periyapurāṇam* but from the traditions popular among the common people of the various localities. Though the Kannaḍa poets knew the classical versions, their inspiration came from the common folk of Tamil land. Confusion of the stories also points to the same conclusion.

(a) *IḷayāNkuṭi and Appūti* : The following will illustrate the point. At the end of the story of *IḷayāNkuṭi MāRa NāyaNār*, the ending of the story of *Appūti Aṭikaḷ* where the son is asked to go and cut a plantain leaf and where he dies bitten by a serpent whilst cutting, is added to the ending of the story of *Ciru-t-toṇṭar* where the saint and his wife are commanded to hail their son back and where the dead son comes alive through the streets in response to that call.

(b) *Avvai and CēramāN* : Some of the stories were probably current as alternative versions or had come back as changed from the Kannaḍa country itself. In the CēramāN Perumāḷ story, the story of Avvai, coming to Kailāsa even before CēramāN and Cuntarar reach their place, is introduced. In the Tamil

country itself there is a verse in which she sings that the *kātam* or a particular distance is the same to the king and to the old woman. It is also stated that she composed the *akaval* beginning with the words *Citakkaḷapaccentāmarai* as a request to *Gaṇeśa* to take her to Kailāsa, though there is nothing of any such request in that poem itself.

(4) Influence of Kannada on Tamil

(a) *Sixty-three saints* :

(1) *Tirunīlakaṇṭa* : In the story of Tirunīlakaṇṭa, this saint according to *Periyapurāṇam* does go astray once and his wife refuses to touch him thereafter. In the Kannaḍa version he is faultless. A dancing girl unwittingly throws out into the street refuse water which falls on the saint whilst walking along the street and the repentant dancing girl makes amends for this, by inviting him to her house, giving him a bath, adorning him and feeding him. It is these respectful signs that his wife mistakes and refuses to touch him. This version is given in *Citamparanātapurāṇam* which was written in Tamil at the end of the last century.

(2) *NantaNār* : The story of the Harijan Saint *Tirunāḷai-p-pōvār* was very popular in the nineteenth and in the early part of the twentieth century in Tamil land and the Āndhra deśa. Gopālakṛṣṇa Bhārati, a great musical composer of the nineteenth century (who was also to recite the story with an admixture of prose to the accompaniment of musical instruments, the whole thing being called "*Kālakṣepam*" an institution which had come into vogue in the nineteenth century) has composed the *NantaNār Carittira-k-KīrttaNai* and it is this version that is popular everywhere. In this story the author brings in a Brāhmin landlord, describing him with great dramatic interest as a caste ridden Brāhmin landlord of the Tanjore District of his times. Śiva helps NantaNār to harvest 1000 *veli* of land in one night and thus fulfil the command of the Brāhmin. The author also describes truthfully the society of the Harijans and their faith in caste restrictions. It is the Kannaḍa version which first introduced the Brāhmin for commanding NantaNār to harvest the lands if he were to go to Cidambaram. Therefore we see clearly the influence of the Kannaḍa culture on Tamil literature.

(b) *Other than the sixty-three saints* :

(1) *Hariścandra Caritram* : One may note another influence from Kannaḍa. *Hariścandra's story* is very popular all over India. It had undergone a great development from the time of the *Upaniṣads*. There is the conflict between Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. Vaśiṣṭha praised in Indra's Court Hariścandra, and

Viśvāmitra staked his all for proving that the king was not what Vaśiṣṭha made of him. Hariścandra was made to go through many a crisis in his life. But he remained so spotless that when he, as the servant of the executioner was about to execute the sentence of death on his own wife who had come to cremate their dead son, spurned the redemption offered with the condition that he should leave the path of righteousness, Viśvāmitra himself blessed him. The series of critical moments created by Viśvāmitra make the story full of tension almost reminding us of the melodramatic stories of modern films. This plot construction has been attributed to Rāghavāṅka, the great Kannaḍa poet of the thirteenth century. The *Mahābhārata* version as found today agrees with his story and it is suspected that it was his version that was later interpolated into the *Mahābhārata* version of the south. This is the conclusion to which the learned editor of this work comes to (N. Basavāradhya). If this is so, The *Hariścandra Purāṇam* in Tamil of a later date should have followed the Kannaḍa story. There is an earlier work called *Hariścandra Veṇpā* in Tamil and though the author of *Hariścantira purāṇam* in Tamil refers to this *Veṇpā*, unfortunately the whole of this *Veṇpā* is not available. It is possible that it also for the first time was influenced by Rāghavāṅka at the time of the Hoysāḷa intervention in Tamil history. In this way Kannaḍa literature has influenced Tamil.

(2) *Kannaḍiga Tamil Poets* : A few words more about this kind of influence may not be out of place here. The poet *Civa-p-pirakācar* was a Kannaḍiga and a *Vīraśaivite*. He has enriched Tamil not only by his original compositions but also by his translations. He translated the *Kannaḍa Prabhuliṅga Līlā* of Chāmarasa (1422) so beautifully that no reader suspects that it is a translation. He translated *Tarkabhāṣā* a book by Nijaguṇayōgi into Tamil prose and Yōgi's *Vivēkacintāmaṇi* into Tamil verse. He and his brothers rendered the *Kālahasti Māhātmyam* into Tamil, naturally with greater borrowings from Tamil works and Tamil tradition. Later many *Vīraśaivite* works like that of *Basava Purāṇam* came to be translated into Tamil.

(3) *Vīraśaivite Mutts* : *The Vīraśaivites* came into the Tamil country. A note in a Tamil manuscript of the fifteenth century complains that the *Vīra śaivites* had become heads of many Tamil śaiva mutts. This means they had become a great influence in the philosophical world of the Tamil land. Civañāna Pālaya Svami, a mystic saint, founded a mutt at Bommayappāḷayam near Pondicherry and he was the spiritual guru of Civaprakācar. The aggressive nature of *Vīraśaivism* was not necessary in the Tamil country and *Vīraśaivites* became therefore eclectic, trying to harmonize conflicting philosophies on the basis of the mystic experience of all religious saints, which was more or less common. ĀRumuka Cuvāmi of the *Tiru-p-pā-p-puliyūr* mutt which started as a *Vīra-*

śaiva mutt, wrote a book of experience called *NiṣṭāNupūti*. Civappirakācar's brother-in-law Cāntaliṅka Cuvāmi wrote his *Avirōta Untiyār* in the folk song meter used by girls in their folk games. There he, as the name of the work (*avirodha*) implies, harmonises all the philosophies especially Śaivism and Advaita Vedānta, pointing out that there was really no conflict between them. A disciple of Cāntaliṅka, Kumāra Tēvar was the author of *Makārāca TuRavu*. Citampara Svāmi, who came in his spiritual lineage, had written a commentary on the works of Cāntaliṅka elucidating the philosophical points raised there. This commentator was also a *bhakti* poet. He founded the mutt at Tiruppōrūr in Chingleput District and this mutt and other such mutts have produced many Tamil scholars and poets. Similarly many Tamilians went and settled in the Kannaḍa country to enrich Kannaḍa literature in modern times — writers like the late lamented Kailāsam author of many plays and others who are happily with us like Guṇḍappa, Masti Srinivasa Iyengar etc.

(5) SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY FACILITATED THIS CONTACT

This mutual influence was made easier because the Tamil country and Kannaḍa country are neighbours. Mysore was probably the ancient "Erumai-nāṭu" the "buffalo country" of the Caṅkam age. The Gangas, Calukyas and Hoysaḷas were connected with Tamil rulers by marriage alliance. Tamil and Kannaḍa Jains in the Pallava age and earlier moved easily from one country to another. The *Śravaṇabeḷgōḷa* inscription refers to the books viz., *Cintāmaṇi* and *Cūḷāmaṇi* written by Jain authors and these are considered to be the ancient Tamil classics of those names. There is "*Jīva sambōdhana*" in Tamil and Kannaḍa. In the Hoysaḷa period the Hoysaḷa king came to be described as *māmadi*, the revered father-in-law of both the Pāṇḍiya and the CōLas. Kaṇṇanūr near Śrīraṅgam came to be the capital of the Tamil half of the Hoysaḷa kingdom. Both the countries came under the influence of the Vijayanagar Empire and laterly under the British Empire. It is only in recent times people quarrel about the border villages, though for a long time the Malayāḷis, the Kannaḍikas, the Āndhras, the Tamils and the Mahrattas lived together in the Madras Presidency in the British Indian Empire. There is more of politics than culture involved in the present border troubles of these five great southern peoples.

TELUGU AND TAMIL

(a) *Studies* : The thesis on *Śaivism in the South* of Śrīmati Ādilakṣmī submitted to the Madras University and the thesis submitted by Dr. Salla

Radhakrishna Sharma to the same University are important for our study of the Tamil influence on Telugu.

(b) *Contact through the ages* : The stories of the sixty-three saints were equally popular among the *Vīraśaivites* of Āndhradeśa. The contact with Āndhra starts from the *Caṅkam age. Pulli*, the *Caṅkam verses* state, ruled *Tiruppati*. The Pallavas, who came to rule over *Kāñci*, originally had their headquarters in the Āndhra country. The CōLas went to rule over a portion of the Southern Āndhra as natives of that part the *Pottappi CōLas* and the *Rēnāḍu CōLas*. Nanna Coḍa, a CōLa wrote the Telugu Kāvya *Kumārasambhava*. The imperial CōLa like Rāja Rāja and Rājendra had marital relationship with the Eastern Cālukyas. Rājarāja Narendra, the patron of Nannayya of Telugu *Bhārata* fame was the daughter's son of RājaRāja, the great CōLa. Rāja Rāja Narendra married the daughter of the CōLa Rājendra and her son succeeded to the CōLa throne as Kulōttuṅka. Kulōttuṅka and his son led an expedition into *Kaliṅga*. Tamil inscriptions are therefore found in Nellore and other parts of the Telugu country as far as Vijayavāḍa in the North.

(c) *Mutual Influence* : On account of the clear contact between the Tamils and Telugus during the time of Pallavas, the imperial CōLas, the Vijayanagar kings and Britishers, mutual influence may be expected in spite of the fact that the Telugu language belongs in certain aspects to the Central Dravidian family whilst Tamil belongs to the South Dravidian.

(d) *Tamil Prosody and Telugu* : Nannayya was the earliest classical writer who began to compose the *Mahābhāratha* in Telugu in the reign of Rāja Rāja Narendra as stated above. He adopted the Sanskrit *Viruttās* or metres but following the earlier Tamil poets who even when adopting Sanskrit metres like *Daṇḍaka* adapted them to suit the genius of Tamil poetry and rhythm, he also introduced the Dravidian *yati* or what is known in Tamil *mōNai* (alliteration) and *prāsa* or Tamil *etukai* (the initial rhyme, if it may be so called, where the initial syllable has the same length in all the four lines and the second syllable which has optionally more syllables, is the same in all the four lines). Even Sanskrit writers of the Tamil land of the Mūkapañcādaśi etc. have introduced *yati* and *prāsa*. Dr. Sharma has pointed out that the *akkala pātu* is in what is called Tamil *akaval* metre. Tamil has *nēr*, a long syllable, and *nirai*, a composition of two juxtaposed short syllables. The permutations and combinations of these two give us the Tamil feet. It has been pointed out that the various versifications in Telugu like *Sisapadya*, *dvipada*, *utsaha* and folk songs like *ēla jōli lāli mēlkotupu maṅgalam* etc. follow this *cīr* pattern and may be explained as comcomplex patterns of the *akaval* metre.

(e) *Tradition of the four kinds of poets* : Dr. Sharma also points out that

the Tamil tradition found in the works called *Pāṭṭiyal* dealing with the various kinds of poetic compositions in Tamil divides the poets into *acu*, *madhura*, *vistara* and *citra kavi*. The verses are continuous or occasional individual verses. The continuous series of verses are *vistara*. The occasional verses may be composed impromptu on the spur of the moment, fulfilling any restrictions suggested. This is *āśu kavi*. Or it may be composed leisurely aiming at perfection. These can be full of *śabda citra*, beautiful arrangement of syllables or letters in patterns, when they will be *citrakavi* ; or full of rhythm, music and other poetic beauties, when those will be known as *Madhurakavi*. Since one of the ĀLvārs, a worshipper of NammāLvār was called *Madhurakavi*, this tradition should be older than the *Pāṭṭiyals*. According to Dr. Sharma this tradition is not found elsewhere ; the Telugu who also speak of this classification, therefore must have got it from the Tamils.

(f) *Tamil Vaiṣṇavism in Āndhra* :

(1) *ĀLvārs in Telugu* : The influence of the ĀLvārs spread through Rāmānuja and his followers both in the Kannaḍa and the Āndhra countries especially through later *ācāryas* like the *Kandāṭai*, *Tirumalai*, *NallaN* etc. The *Dāsa* literature in Kannaḍa may be indirectly traced to Tamil. The importance of music and the compositions in the regional languages have been emphasised by the Tamil *Bhaktas*. Musical composition had its natural development in Tamil through *Tēvara hymns*, *Tiru-p-pukaL* sung in various *tālas* or time patterns — *cintus* and *kīrttaNais*. Muttut-tāṇṭava, Māria-ppa-piḷḷai, Aruṇācala-k-kavi, Rāmaliṅga etc. are some of the poets. In the Āndhradeśa, the Vaiṣṇavites had very influential seats of their religion at Tiruppati and other places. The *Tallapāka Annamācārya's Kīrtanas* in Telugu have become now famous. But the influence of Purandara Dāsa and others may be seen in Tyagaraja's kīrtanas in Telugu. Tyagarajar belongs to Tiruvārūr in Tamil Nadu but he composed in his mother tongue and his disciples who were Tamils and Saurāṣtras continue his tradition to modern time.

(2) *Kṛṣṇadevarāya* : The influence of Tamil *ĀLvārs* on Telugu literature can be easily seen in the great work of the most famous of the Vijayanagar Emperors, Sri Kṛṣṇadevarāya viz. *Āmukta Mālyadā* which describes the story of St. Āṇṭāḷ. The title of this epic is a translation of her Tamil name *Cūṭi-k-koṭutta nācciyār*.

(3) Others : The stories of the ĀLvārs are popular in the Āndhra country. The story of *Toṇṭaraṭi-p-poṭi ĀLvār* had been rendered as a play for the common man of Āndhradeśa. Nearly twelve plays are available under the names of *Paramayogi vilāsa*, *Vaijayanti Vilāsa*, *Vipranārāyaṇa Carita*, *Bhaktāṅghri Reṇu Caritram* and *Toṇṭaraṭip-p-oṭi*. This āLvār's love for a dancing girl gives scope

for dramatic treatment which will appeal to the common man. The āLvār next popular in the then dramatic literature of the Āndhras, is Kulaśēkhara. (See *Parama Yogi Vilāsam, Kulaśekhara Mahipāla caritam* etc.)

(4) *Tamil poems and Ālvār poems* : The poems of the āLvārs have been translated into Telugu, from time to time, not to speak of the Tamil poems and Tamil commentaries in the *Maṇipravāḷa* style, written and later printed in the Telugu script.

(g) *Śaivism in Telugu* :

(1) *Kannaḍa and Telugu* : Some of the early Kannaḍa writers came from the Āndhra country and some of the Āndhra writers knew Kannaḍa. Some like Pālkuriki Sōmanātha wrote and introduced Tamil verses and Tamil lines into their Telugu works. See *Paṇḍitāradhya Carita* and *Vṛṣādhipa Śataka*, both by Pālkuriki Sōmanātha. This will explain the common glory of the Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu cultures.

(2) Sixty-three saints — books on them all : For the story of the sixty-three Śaiva saints, there was the *Śiva-tatva Sāramu* of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita, who lived four decades before Pālkuriki Sōmanātha. The latter has written in Telugu the story of the Vīra Śaivite Brahman Paṇḍitāradhya. In this *Paṇḍitāradhya Caritram*, in the chapter *Mahimaprakaraṇam* along with the *Pramatha gaṇas*, *rudra gaṇas*, *yogācāryās*, *Dharmācaryās* he refers to the *Aruvattumūvar* especially to *Tirunaḷai-p-povār*, *Campantar*, *Cuntarar*, *Tirulocana Pallava* and *Cheladi* (the spider). Pālkuriki Sōmanātha has also written a *Basavapurāṇa*. It is important to note that the Tamil version, though it is said to be a translation of the Basava Purāṇa of Bhīmakavi, refers also to Pālkuriki Sōmanātha. There was another translation in Telugu by Piḍuparti Sōmanātha (1500). Śrīnātha, the great Telugu poet, gives the stories of the saints in the first two cantos of his *Hara Vilāsa*. There is another *Basavapurāṇa* written in 1708 by Mahādēva Kavi.

(3) *Individual saints* :

Ciruttoṇḍa : The stories of some of the saints were so popular that separate works on individual saints came to be written. *Ciruttoṇḍa or Dabhra Bhakta* was the most popular saint with the Telugu writers. Garekkapati Tammayya composed in 1600 *Siriyala Caritra*. Vanavilla Gaṇgādhara wrote *Siriyala Caritra*. Vale Kottaya wrote *Siruttoṇḍa Bhaktakathā*, a *yakṣagāna* or drama.

Cuntarar : St. Cuntarar as already seen was known as *Nampi*. *Uḍayavar* means Svami. "Lord" *Uḍaya*, the relative participle form followed by the name Nampi means "Nampi who is our lord". In Tamil he is known as *Āḷuṭaya nampi* ; and *uṭayanampi* which becomes in Telugu *Oḍayanampi* in its shortened

form. Apart from the books which narrate the stories of all the saints, one has Apparapu Perayaliṅga Kavi's separate *kāvya* on this subject. There is also the *yakṣagāna* by Rājaliṅga Nimmanātha.

Tirunīlakaṇṭa : *Tirunīlakaṇṭar's* story is known to the Telugus from very early times. Nannayya Choḍa in his *Kumāra Sambhava* refers by way of comparison to this saint as the old man when the poet states that Śiva made the burnt Manmatha alive to trouble Pārvatī even as Śiva caused *Viraha avasthā* to the old man by dipping him in the pool. Amarapurapu Saṃnyāsi Kavi has composed a *Kāvya* on this saint in the eighteenth century.

Kaṇṇappa: Kaṇṇappa's story was also very popular. *Kālahasti Māhātmiyam* of Dūrjaṭi gives the story. According to *Periyapurāṇam* Kaṇṇappa belonged to the village of Uḍuppūr whose Telugu form is Uḍummuru, the village of the Uḍumbu, "Iguana". But not knowing this, the term *Uḍummuru Kaṇṇappa* in *Basavapurāṇa* was a puzzle to many Telugu readers. It will be seen that in Telugu, the stories of the saint often in the manner of *Purāṇas* refer to the previous birth of the people coming in the stories. The question for instance is raised. "How can Śiva eat flesh ?" One is here told of the story of Śibi who offered his flesh in the previous birth ; Śiva then asked him to be born as the animals which Kaṇṇappar killed to feed *Śiva*. This story of Kaṇṇappa is the subject matter of Kanchiraju Suraya's *Kaṇṇappa Caritra* as well.

Piḷḷai NāyaNār : St. TiruññāNacampantar is *Piḷḷaiyār* (the young saint). This means a son and *Basava Purāṇam* speaks of this saint as *PiḷḷainmāyaNār* and asserts that he is an *amsa* of Kumārasvāmi. It is this probably that we get in the Tamil poems of Aruṇagirinātha of the fourteenth century and also in Oṭṭakkūttar who belongs to the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. We get something new when we read in the *Basavapurāṇa* that this saint brought Kulōttuṅga CōLa back into the fold of Śaivism along with two thousand Buddhists. This is in addition to his converting the *Guṇapāṇḍya*. In *Paṇḍitārādhya Caritra*, there is an additional story of his restoring the hands of a woman, which were cut off by her husband. Piḍuparti Basavaṇṇa, we learn, wrote a separate work on this saint.

NantaNār : Variations

The story of NantaNār or *Tirunāḷai-p-pōvār* is narrated, in Somanātha's *Paṇḍitārādhya Carita*, by a woman devotee to prove that caste is of no avail. There are the following books on this individual saint: Śrī Chelakamurti Lakṣmī-Narasimha wrote the story in prose in the last century. Devagupta Saṃnyāsi Rāja wrote the story in verse. There are two dramas in verse by Vedam Vēṅkatācāryalu and another. Reference had been made to the Kannaḍa version coming back and being elaborated in Tamil by Gopalakrishna Bhārathi in the last

century. It is the latter story that is dramatized in Telugu also.

(4) *Mahāpurāṇa trend :*

Ciruttoṇṭar : Pālkuriki Somanātha and Śrīnātha along with others who follow them try to make the stories of the saints read like the purāṇas. With reference to St. Cuntarar *Periyapurāṇam* itself speaks of his original place in *Kailāsa* from where he was sent down to this world because he fell in love with two damsels. In the story of CiruttoṇṭaN, the same thing happens in the Telugu versions. Durvāsa was feeding his deer and unaware of this, the musician of the Heavens viz. Tumburu, snapped his fingers which naturally distracted the deer. Durvāsa cursed Tumburu who had therefore to be born as CiruttoṇṭaN. Further dramatic situation in the same manner were introduced. When the saint had to carry a large bundle of sugar cane, Śiva came to help him. As a result of this, Pārvatī found Śiva in Kailāsa perspiring, though he was witnessing at that time a dance. Pārvatī mistook His intention ; but Śiva explained the real reason. Śiva came as an old man, with Pārvatī as his young wife. Śiva as an old man informed the son of CiruttoṇṭaN of the latter's evil intention. Pārvatī similarly wanted to mislead the wife of CiruttoṇṭaN. But in both the places, they failed. Other developments to increase the tension in the story are found in the works which followed.

Piṭṭavva : In the *Basava Purāṇa*, the stories of Śiva putting down the pride of even saints are referred to. The story of the conflict between St. Cuntarar and Miralmiṇḍa is given. Śiva tells Miralmiṇḍa how He Himself worked very hard as a labourer on behalf of Piṭṭavva. The Tamil tradition in *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam* and elsewhere speaks of St. Māṇikkavācakar, the author of *Tiruvācakam* being punished by the Pāṇḍya king. There upon the river Vaikai as ordered by Śiva rose in floods and the Pāṇḍya ordered each family in Madurai to fill up particular portions of the dam allotted to them. There was an old woman who had no relative and who lived by selling *piṭṭu* "a rice preparation". Śiva himself came as a labourer to work on her behalf in return for *piṭṭu* which was broken to bits. This labourer however went to sleep and the Pāṇḍya caned him for dereliction of duty. But the strokes of the cane fell on everyone and on the Pāṇḍya himself. Everybody realised then that the labourer, who disappeared by that time, was none other than Śiva Himself. The story of Maṇikkavācakar is given as the story of CokkanāyaNār in *Basava Purāṇa*. Whenever a dam is mentioned, the Telugu always think only of the Kāvēri dam constructed by Karikāla CōLa. There is the story popular in the Āndhra country where Karikāla ordered, as he did others, *Trilocana Pallava* or the *Mukkaṇṭi Kāṭuveṭṭi* or the Pallava with the three eyes to help him in the construction of the Kāvēri dam. But the Pallava did not pay any heed. Karikāla drew the portrait of the Pallava and removed the

third eye from the portrait. The story goes that as a result of this the Pallava really lost his third eye. Piṭṭavva story is narrated in Āndhradeśa in connection with the construction of the Kāvēri dam. Unfortunately, this story of Karikāla and Piṭṭavva or of Karikāla and Trilocana Pallava is not known in the Tamil country.

(5) *Other Changes* :

Again, instead of *CōLa Kocceṅkaṇāṉ*, this story of Karikāla is given. The CōLa is also called *Anāpāya* which is the name of the CōLa who was the patron of CēkkiLār. In Telugu, the name "*Kaṇampullai*" appears as *Dipādakal*, *IyaRpākai* as *Elpaghi*, *Kalikkampa* as *Kaliyambi*, *iṭaṅkaLi*, as *Idigudi* etc. This proves the same point which we mentioned with reference to the corruption of the names in Kannaḍa.

Karikāla also is given as the name of the king who ruled at the time of Cuntarar. Śiva as an old man demanded Cuntarar as his son and this dispute was taken before Karikāla. It is also said that Cuntarar felt the presence of the *Liṅga* in the breast of his wife Paravanācci. According to a Telugu poet, *achanta* was the scene of this action. When the CōLa queen of Karikāla died, the guru of the CōLas advised that the remains instead of being taken to Gayā should be taken to the house of Paravanācci. The remains were accordingly taken there as ordered and the *Pitrus* came and received the offerings. Thus was glorified and deified the love of Cuntarar to Paravanācciyr.

Saints as Officers : The Vaiṣṇavite ĀLvārs are often described in later times as the incarnations of God's weapons, ornaments etc. Vedānta Dēśika was considered to be the incarnation of the bell in *Vaikuṇṭha*. The people who made the stories of the sixty-three saints more and more resemble the ancient, *Purāṇas*, developed some such trend as well. Pālkuriki Sōmanātha takes Śiva as a king and the sixty-three saints are therefore described by him as the various officers of Śiva's court, and Śiva's household such as chief minister, commander-in-chief, bard, doctor, musician, poet etc.

(6) *Changes due to Vīraśaivism* : There are other changes which may be suspected to have been introduced because of the Vīraśaivite tenets of the poets. Because the Vīraśaivites were against *yajña*, Pālkuriki Sōmanātha omits that part of the story in Tiruṇāḷai-p-povār's where the saint goes through the sacrificial *yajña* fire and rises purified. As the Vīraśaivites were not enamoured of the recitals of the Vedas etc. in the story of the *Rudrapaśupati*, the recitation of Śrī Rudra by this saint is omitted, and a new development reminding us of Kulaśekhara ĀLvār's story takes place. When this saint was listening to the story of the churning of the ocean of milk, the narrator mentions that Śiva swallowed the poison. At once the saint jumped into a tank and Śiva Himself had to come

and open His mouth to show that the poison had not gone lower than His throat.

(7) *An influence from Gujarat* :

In the story of IyaRpākai nāyaNār, the nāyaNār in short gives away his newly married bride to a *jaṅgama* and prevented at the sword's end his relatives interfering with it. It was pointed out that some of the Kannaḍa writers gave the name of this nāyaNār as *Sindhu Ballāḷa*. *Paṇḍitāradhya Caritramu* gives the story of *Sindhu Ballana*. There are in Telugu *Padya Kāvyas*, *dvipadās*, *yakṣa-gānas*, *gevas*, *daṇḍakas* and prose works describing this story, clearly showing the popularity of this story. Ballanna was a king of Sindhu Kaṭaka in Gujarat and perhaps the story came from that country. Śiva, it is said, came dressed like a *Viṭa* or libertine but with the usual signs of a *jaṅgama*. Getting the promise from the king that the *jaṅgama* would receive whatever he wanted, the latter asked for the queen. Ballanna ordered his wife to go but the visitor turned himself into a child. Because of the similarity in the first half of the story, IyaR-pākai had been described as Sindhu Ballāḷa.

Into Tamil : Aruṇācala Purāṇam in Tamil, dealing with the temple at Tiru-vaṇṇāmalai where the Hoysaḷas stayed for sometime, gives this story as that of *Vallāḷa*. Ballāḷa is the name of the Hoysaḷa kings who were fond of Tiruvaṇ-ṇāmalai. Ballana was confused with Ballāḷa. One of the Ballāḷas, Ballāḷa III married Cikkāyi of the Āḷupas, who followed the matriarchal system. Perhaps in derision, a few spoke of Āḷupa polyandry, trying to attribute it without any reason to this Cikkāyi. This must have led to the confusion in names. When the Hoysaḷas, who were so much attached to Tiruvaṇṇānmalai temple, which they beautified, disappeared from history, a grateful later generation wrongly thinking that the Ballāḷas went without Heirs for performing *śrāddhas* for them, organised annual festival where God himself who had become the child in that story, performed the *śrāddha*. This story is the best illustration for stories getting mixed up and changed, inspired by various motives, good and bad.

(8) *Other Traditions* :

The Telugus also wrote books on the sixty-three saints following other traditions viz. Sanskrit and Tamil. *Harabhakta Vilasamu* of Attaluri Papakavi (1750) is an adaptation of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. *Śivabhakti Vilasamu* by Nañja-rāja (1800) is a translation of *Agastya Samhitā*. Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* was translated by J.O.V. Dorasamaiah into Telugu Prose (1900) as *Bhakta Lilam-rutam*.

(9) *Popular Telugu* :

One has to notice the "Jana Telugu" of the Vīraśaivite Telugu poets like Pālkuriki Sōmanātha. Jana Telugu means the Telugu of the common man

as against the classical and Sanskritised Telugu. Tamil has always been trying to be true to its genius. There was a danger to this in the age of St. TiruññāNacampantar and he condemned the hybrid language of the Jains which was neither good Sanskrit nor good Tamil. He also very much criticised the corruption of Sanskrit words (*Śaṅkaṭa paṅkam*). In the age of Oṭṭakkūttar, the majestic and unwordly style used very high sounding Sanskrit words. The language was saved for the use of the common man and living literature by CēkkiLār, the author of *Periyapurāṇam* the purāṇa of the sixty-three saints, if it may be so called.

(h) *Those other than the sixty-three saints :*

Nakkīrar:

The Āndhras also were fully acquainted with the story of the Caṅkam poet Nakkīrar. It is curious to note that according to the Telugu tradition, Nakkīrar knew to start with Telugu and Sanskrit, and not Tamil which he had to learn later from Agastya. This story is given in the *Kālahasti Māhātmiyam* of Dūrjaṭi.

(i) *Tamil in Telugu works* : Thanks to the Vaiṣṇava tradition, many Tamil terms entered Telugu domestic usage and literature. In the Telugu *yakṣagānas* especially those which were popular in the south, conversations in Tamil were also introduced.

(j) *Telugu literature in the Tamil land* : Thanks to chieftains of Āndhradeśa coming down to the south settling down and ruling there Telugu works came to be produced in Tamil Nadu. During Acyuta Devarāya's time before 1600, Bhadrakavi dedicated his work to the king of Paḍaiviḍu at Devaṅgapura. The *Hālāsya Māhātmya* or the story of Śiva's miracles at Madurai came to be written in Telugu. Pachakarupa Tiruvēṅkaṭa Kavi (note that the name is Tamil) during the age of Praudha Deva Rāya, wrote the *Chokkanātha Carittira* which he dedicated to Pedda Rāmaṇṇa of Tiruppattūr in Ramnad District. Kundurti Veṅkatācala Kavi, in the reign of Vijayāraṅga Chokkanātha of Madurai, wrote *Kārttika Māhātmyam* of *Skandapurāṇa* and dedicated it to Veṅkatācala Reddy (1706-1732) of Turaiyūr. Tirumala Kavi wrote the story of Cidambaram called *Chitrakūta Māhātmyam*. The Toṇḍaimān King, Raghunātha ToṇḍaimāN of Pudukkottai (1769-1789), was the author of *Pārvatī Pariṇayam* in Telugu. His court poet Veṅkaṇṇa also wrote another *Pārvathia Pariṇayamu* which he dedicated to *Mīnākṣi Sundarēśvara* the God of Madurai.

Hālāsya Māhātmyam : Satguri Tamma Bhupa (1513-1569) of Śivasamudram wrote the *Rājendra CōLa Carita* in Telugu. It is thus seen that Tamil stories got into Telugu literature. This also shows how there were Tamil people who could appreciate Telugu works. *Hālāsya Māhātmyam* was written in prose. Mallanpalli Buchikavi had written it in verse. There was another *Hālāsya*

Māhātmyam by Tirumala Chetti Jagannadha Kavi. Garikapat Tammayya Kavi wrote his *Śrīvāḷa Caritra* dedicating it to his patron at Kāñcīpuram. Amalāpuram Saṃnyāsi Kavi's (1800-1860) *Kummāri Gundayya* which tells the story of Tirunīlakaṇṭa belongs to the south. Many of the *yakṣagānas* relating to Toṇṭarati-p-poṭi āLvār were written at the Tanjore court. *TirukkuRaḷ* and *Kamparāmāyaṇam* have been translated into Telugu in modern times.

(k) *Catakam literature in Tamil*: The *Śatakaṁ* literature influenced Tamil and many *Catakams* giving ethical maxims combining them with names of temples came to be written in Tamil, for instance *Arappaḷīccura Catakam*, *Taṇṭalavār Catakam*, *Aruṇācala Catakam* etc. *Sumati Catakam* itself had been translated into Tamil.

(l) *Translations* : Other important Telugu works came to be translated into Tamil. *Vasu Caritam* of Rāmarāja Bhusanadu was translated by Ampalattāṭum AyyaN, but this had not been printed though found in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library. Vēmana's verses have been translated many a time. In recent times Telugu stories, novels and dramas are being translated into Tamil.

(m) *Mahraṭṭas* : We may in conclusion refer to the Tamil Kannaḍa and Āndhra influence passing on to the Mahrāṭṭa country. Reference had been made to the influence of the Tamil Bhakti movement affecting the Bhakti movement of that country. Pālkuriki Sōmanātha wrote an *āryā* verse probably related to the Mahraṭṭi language of his times. Poona Peshwas called St. Cirutoṇṭa *Siruvala Mahārāja* and his annual feasts used to be held. This must have been due to the contact of the Pallavas with Vātāpi. When Mahraṭṭas came to rule over Tanjore, the Tamil influence spread further and further. In the age of Sahji (1684-1717) *Vaḷḷikalyāṇamu* a *yakṣagānam* in Telugu was written.

(n) *Conclusion* : We have thus far seen the influence of Tamil literature on other regions within India. We have seen new developments taking place in the regions which Tamil stories influenced. We have also seen the influence of other languages on Tamil.

Ceylon

One may now pass on to countries outside India. Tamil is the mother tongue of an influential minority in Ceylon from early times. The Tamils and the Sinhalese have lived together for more than two thousand years. Politics always poisoned the relationship but the cultural relation is more fundamental. The Buddhists of Southern India had always been in contact with those of Ceylon. There is a Ceylonese Tamil poet in the Tamil Caṅkam viz. *Iḷattu-*

p-pūtaNār. The Ceylon Tamils, produced *Raghuvamśa* and *Dakṣiṇa Kailāsa Purāṇam* during the Middle Ages. The influence of Ārumuka Nāvalar, Vipulānanta and others in modern times on Tamil prose and Tamil studies has to be gratefully acknowledged. A number of Tamil words has become part of Sinhalese. The story of Kaṇṇaki has become the story of *Patni Teyyo* of the Sinhalese. There are in Ceylon, Sinhalese and Tamil versions of folk songs about this *Teyyo*. Sinhalese metres also remind us of the Tamil metres. One may with this knowledge look further east.

The Far East

1. *Rulers* : The contact with the Far East is of greater interest from this point of view. The boat seems to have been the carrier of Tamil culture abroad. There was trade between the Tamilians and the islands of the Far East. People had gone from here to Ceylon and to distant *Campā* to found kingdoms, but as already stated these are not of deeper significance.

2. *Kaṭāram*: *Caṅkam poetry* speaks of imports from Ceylon and *Kāḷakam* (the Ke'da) in Malaysia. *Kāḷakam* appears in the form of *Kaṭāram* probably connected with iron vessels etc. as suggested by Pr. Thani Nayagam. *Kaṭāram Koṇṭān* "the conqueror of *Kaṭāram*" is the title of Rājendra who led a naval expedition up to Ke'da and also of the great Sundara PāṇḍyaN after whom a village is named in the Pāṇḍya country. The names of places mentioned as lying on the route of the naval expedition, occured as the names of species and other materials in Tamil land, as explained by our early commentators like Aṭiyārkkunallār. This is more important for present purpose.

3. *Tamil Kings and the Far East*: St. Cuntarar in listing the saints of Tamil land speaks in the present tense of one *ciṅkaN* with the victor's anklet who was then protecting the lands surrounded by the seas. Amongst the Pallavas, there were two *ciṅkaNs* — one Narasimha or Māmalla and the other Rājasimha and we know Rājasimha had some kind of jurisdiction over the islands in the Eastern seas. The fact that a few bore the names of the kings of the Tamil country (Mahendra, the predecessor of Narasimha, and Sundara, the king who came later) shows some kind of dependence on the Tamil power as pointed out by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. We have Tamil inscriptions in Burma and we learn that the merchant guilds which traded with distant parts made gifts, for instance in the name of their king *Avani Nārāyaṇa* which is the title of Nandivarman III.

4. *Maṇimēkalai*: *Maṇimēkalai* known to the Buddhist tradition was the guardian angel of the eastern seas and thus became the family deity of the traders

on the eastern seas like the ancestors of KōvalaN, the hero of *Cilappatikāram* who, we learn, had named his daughter 'Maṇimēkalai' and this is the name of the famous Buddhist epic in Tamil dealing with her story.

5. *Sugarcane* : The commentator on *PuRanāNūRu* speaks of a tradition which attributes the famous act of bringing in sugarcane from the eastern seas to Tamil land to the ancestors of *AtikamāN* — a name identified by Dr. Burrow with Satiyaputras, mentioned in the Aśokan edicts along with the CōLas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralaputras of the Tamil land. Thus one gets a picture of the economic and cultural interrelationship.

6. *Conversion* : There is in the epic *Maṇimēkalai*, the interesting story of a ship-wrecked merchant CātuvaN being brought before a cannibal chief of the Nāgas, and the merchant converting this chief and his tribe to Buddhism.

7. *Philosophical influence* : This leads us to expect more of such philosophical and religious influences. Hinduism and Buddhism had been spreading all over these lands of the eastern seas, thanks to Indians going from Bengal, Āndhra, Kaliṅga and Tamil Nadu. But some of the architectural remains remind us even now of Mahābalipuram. The inscriptions there speaks of Śaṅkarācārya of Kāñcīpuram thus definitely establishing the relationship of those lands with the Tamil country in the religious and philosophical fields.

8. *Pāṇṭuraṅka and Dr. Filliozat* : Dr. Filliozat has brought to notice one other Tamil influence on the South East. *Kalittokai* one of the Caṅkam anthologies refers to *Pāṇṭuraṅka* dance of Śiva ; the dance of Victory in the battle field when the fortresses of the enemies had been reduced to ashes. He danced though according to the true pattern measured out simultaneously by his consort but yet with such violent joy that the ashes covered him so fully as to make Him white and as to deserve the name of White dance. Śiva therefore came to be known as *PaṇṭuraṅkaN* a name which went to the Far East. There Viṣṇu with the figure of Śiva at the top came to be called *Pāṇṭuraṅka*. In the Mahrāṭṭa country Viṣṇu or Viṭṭal is known as *Pāṇṭuraṅka* Viṭṭal — a name which has ultimately to be traced to the Tamil sources though certainly through the changes that had taken place in the Far East. The whole story when described by future research, establishing completely every step of the march to the East and the West of Tamil land, will indeed be a fascinating episode in the history of culture.

9. *Ceremonies and national festivals* : The court ceremonies and national festivals of the countries like Siam or Thailand have been studied in detail by Quaritch Wales and others. The national festival of the Thais is a swing festival and the Bengali authors have been claiming this as the swing festival for Kṛṣṇa observed in Bengal, from where it has spread in recent times to even distant

South India, thanks to the influence of the followers of Caitanya. But as I was able to point out in the fifties, at one of our Tamil festivals of literature and culture, this festival has two names, one in the Thai language and another in sóme other language. This later name though not easily understandable is "Tiruvempāvai Tiruppāvai" — which any Tamilian can easily identify as a colloquial form in that country of "*Tiruvempāvai Tiruppāvai*". *Tiruvempāvai* is the śaivite hymn sung by the śaivite St. Māṇikkavācakar whilst Tiruppāvai is the hymn by the Vaiṣṇavite saint *Āṇṭāḷ*, the *Mīrābai* of the South. This combination of these two names reminds us of the ecumenical movement started by Śrī Śaṅkaracāriar of Kāmakoṭipīṭam of Kāñcīpuram wherein every Hindu temple organises, *Tiruppāvai Tiruvempāvai* conferences. This gives us a clue to some such attempt made in an earlier age by the Vaiṣṇavites and Śaivites who went and settled down among the natives of Thailand and other places.

(a) *Pāvai in Thailand* : Both these hymns are based on the older folk song *pāvai* — the image of the earth worshipped on the banks of rivers or ponds in which the virgins bathed in the month of *MārgaLi* (December — January) and prayed for rains for their country and good husbands for themselves. The festival in Thailand is a rain festival. Around the original Thai festival the Tamilian religious encrustation had grown and as pointed out elsewhere these Tamil poems had been explained in a peculiar way in these distant lands so as to weld together the distinct cultures of Tamil Nadu and Thailand.

(b) *New light on Thai culture* : At the request of the present Śrī Śaṅkarācāriar of Kāmakoṭi I wrote a book on this subject and later I had the opportunity of going to Bankok and seeing the open land where the festival used to be celebrated and also the three Hindu temples dedicated to Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu. Before I had been to the National Library for learning more about the manuscripts dealing with rituals and the mantras recited therein, Dr. Thani Nayagam had on his visit to Bankok for studying the Tamil mantras used found the first two verses of *Tiruvempāvai* recited as mantras. When I went later, the Librarian in charge, who was also then teaching Sanskrit, explained to me that in addition to the verses from *Tiruvācakam* there were also hymns from *Tēvāram*. He remembered the words '*KūRRāyiNavāRu*' which begins the first hymn of St. Appar. This was called 'The opening of the gates of Kailāsa'. 'The opening of the gates' will be in Tamil '*Kaṭai-t-tirappu*' whilst closing the gates will be '*Kaṭai-k-kāppu*'. St. Appar according to the tradition prevalent in the Tamil land opened the gates which remained closed for a long time in the temple at TirumaRaikkāṭu and the same tradition tells us that St. TiruññāNacampantar sang a hymn to close these doors as of old. In Tamil Nadu the hymns of St. TiruññāNacampantar are known as '*Tiru-k-kaṭai-t-tirappu*'. But this later name

is not current in the Tamil land, though as stated earlier, it is found translated as 'The opening of the gates of Kailāsa' in Thailand.

(c) *Further lights*: The Library was kind enough to send me a micro-film copy of their manuscript and this is now at the Annamalai University. Tiru Singaravelu of the Malayan University had tape recorded the hymns as recited by the Brāhmins at Bankok and we had occasion to listen to those songs when the first Tamil World Seminar Conference was held at Kualalumpur in 1966. In a shorter version of *Tēvāram* prepared for daily recital in use in southern India, the first hymns sung respectively by St. TiruññāNacampantar, St. Appar and St. Cuntarar occupy the first place, and as though confirming this usage, these three hymns were sung there at Bankok. But it was not clear why there was no song from the Vaiṣṇavite *Tiru-p-pāvai*. For one thing in spite of Viṣṇu being called *Sukhodaya Perumāḷ* there were no orthodox Vaiṣṇavites there at Bankok. *Sukhodaya* is the name of Thailand and *Perumāḷ* is the Tamil Word for Viṣṇu who has thus become the National Deity there. The Brāhmins there have be-become one with the Malayans by intermarriage; but still they are honoured as *Rājagurus*. Their names like *Vāmadeva* reminds us of the influence of Śaivite Āgamas. Dr. Marr of the London School of Oriental and African studies, trying to decipher the manuscripts had found a line from *Tiruppāvai* "*nārāyaNanamakke paRai taruvān*" and he mentioned this to me when he came last year to Madurai. This discovery is important for proving that *Tiruppāvai* was also sung at their national festival in olden days.

(d) *Brāhmins*: It is true a few Tamils coming from Siam to Tamil Nadu have told us that Tamil verses were sung as *mantras* in Siam but now we have detailed information about this, especially bringing to light the full significance of the alternate name of the Thai national festival, 'Tiruppāvai-Tiruvembāvai'. The Brāhmins there claim to have come to Bankok from the Ramnad District and their manuscript is ascribed to a period not later than the twelfth century on palæographical grounds. These Tamil verses were recited at the Corporation and other court functions apart from the recital at the national festival. This shows how the Tamil influence has become basic in the culture of the élite and the common people of these lands. This festival is learnt to have been celebrated in other places as well on the eastern seas.

(e) *Conclusion*: It is thus seen that the Bhakti School of Tamil land, the Bhakti cult of the Śaivite saints like St. TiruññāNacampantar, St. Appar and St. Māṇikka Vācakar and that of the Vaiṣṇavite ĀLvārs like Āṇṭāḷ *Tiru-p-pāvai* fame had spread not only all throughout India but also all across the eastern seas. Going from place to place, the emphasis went on changing and in the Far East these became mantras to unite together the Buddhists, the Hindus,

the natives and the Tamils into one cultural nation. A detailed study of these changes is thus called for.

Contact with Other Cultures.

The contact with other cultures cannot be described in depth except in terms of some of the people coming from outside settling down in the Tamil land and becoming Tamilians or in terms of a few exports and imports or in terms of the translations of a few Tamil works especially the book of ethical epigrams, the great *KuRaḷ* or in terms of the Tamil studies carried on in other countries. This last is covered by another survey paper. But it is hoped that at a later date research will reveal the depth of the Tamil influence on other cultures.

EVOLUTION OF ARYAN LAWS AS A RESULT OF THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE TAMIL COUNTRY

H. W. Tambiah

Introduction

Despite the associations the Tamils had with their neighbours and those with whom they came in contact as a result of conquest or trade relations their culture remained Dravidian with a few elements of Aryan mixture. Nowhere is this phenomenon more pronounced than in the field of law.

The Scandinavian team of researchers led by Dr. Asko Parapola have confirmed the view of Father Heras, who first postulated the theory that the Indus Valley people were Dravidians and their script was an ancient form of Tamil. These researchers said[1] "The decipherment proves that the Indus Valley people, who were the bearers of this ancient civilization were Dravidians who inhabited the sub-continent before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans." These scholars further are of the views that the language is an early form of Dravidian which they had chosen to call Proto-Dravidian and is very close to the South Indian languages, in particular "Tamil".

The religion of the Indus people is an early form of Hinduism with prominent astral elements. The highest god of the Indus people was Kaṭavuḷ, the god Viṣṇu of later Hinduism. The mythic drama par excellence is the victory of this divine king, the god of light and good over the demon of darkness the Hindu god, Kāma. The planets represented the other main gods ; the golden planet is identical with the creator god Brahmā, the red planet Mars is the Hindu god Śiva, the green planet, Mercury is the god of science Gaṇeśa. The white planet Venus is the Hindu god Balarāma and the black planet Saturn is the god Kṛṣṇa. The astral nature of the Indus religion connects the baths of the Indus sites with the temple tanks and the holy rivers of later Hinduism".[2]

From this picture of the "Indus Valley" culture it is clear that many misconceptions regarding the nature of Indian civilization and the Hindu religion have to be revised. Some of these gods whom were considered to be Aryan gods are in reality Dravidian deities. It is clear that the notion of a Universal god depicted as Kaṭavuḷ which even in modern Tamil is the Universal god Almighty, was first conceived by the Dravidians. The astral religion, which the

Greeks and the Romans later took over, had its origin in the Indus Valley. Even the Jews appear to have borrowed the concept of a Universal God who was assisted by the planets his angels from the Babylonian culture. The Babylonian civilization was in turn influenced by the Dravidian culture.

The "Gum Ram" sect of the Jews (who had considerable influence on Christ) were star gazers who believed in astrology and the influence the planets had on human beings[3].

Despite the efforts of the Church Councils who cut off portions of religious literature to make the Bible more palatable to them, there are a number of passages which show that the Jews and the early Christians believed in the influence of the planets. The Revelations of the Bible can only be properly understood if its astrological contents is appreciated. (See Dr. Farrar, *The story of Images*) The story of the Magi will be a fiction if belief in astrology at that period is discounted. Even if the Dravidians did not contribute towards the world civilization there can be no doubt that Indian Civilization was profoundly influenced by the Indus Valley Culture. The *Newsletter* of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies states.

"The findings suggest that important aspects of modern Indian civilization, like the pollution concept within the caste system, may be traced to the society and religion of the Proto-Dravidian Indus people with their huge private baths and complex drainage systems"[4].

The only script which appears to have influenced the Indus Valley writing is the Sumarian script[5]. But researchers are of the view that the Sumarian script itself is Proto-Dravidian[6].

The Indus people were organised both on a hieratic and secular basis. They had a priestly and a secular hierarchy. In the latter the king was the head of the state and under whom were the vassals. The Indus people had an administrative machinery and a flourishing trade. Such a society must have had a system of International Law, Public Law, Ecclesiastical Law and Private Law. Their extensive trade could not have been carried out if they did not have a system of mercantile law and customs. These branches might have overlapped and were mixed up with religion. The world should await the results of the further researches of the Finnish team and other scholars to know more about this glorious civilisation.

In an earlier paper we have suggested the existence of a system of laws among the Proto-Dravidian and the Tamils[7].

At the present one has a composite picture of the Family and Property Law of the Dravidians from the available sources. The purpose of this paper is to show that the *dharma śāstras*, one of the heirlooms of India developed by the

Hindu Jurists, is indebted to the Dravidian Laws for its origin and development. For this purpose it is necessary to examine the available sources of Dravidian Laws and Customs.

Sources of Dravidian Law

The term "Sources of Law" has several meanings. In its most popular sense it means the quarter from where one finds the Law. No term in Jurisprudence is more controversial than "Law". The Austinian concept of law as a command issued by the Sovereign to his subjects in his State which are enforcible by sanctions imposed by the Sovereign is no more accepted. Law may be defined as any binding rule in a society, recognised by the courts of law or tribunals. In this sense Tamil laws may consist of the decrees of the Tamil kings, issued from time to time, the customary usages of the various ethnic groups who lived under the rule of the Tamil kings which were recognised by the tribunals which existed during that period. Professor Derret defines Law as "that aggregate or totality of rules which are or may be enforced upon the subject by the Courts of the State"[8]. Accepting this definition of Law, Customs enforced by caste tribunals are not normally laws, whatever relations law properly so called may have with such or any other customs[9]. But yet caste customs were binding on a caste ridden society just as the mercantile customs were binding among the various members of the guild of merchants. There is no reason why these rules should not be regarded as laws in the Tamil society. Law and religion were often interwoven in Indian Law. There were however religious laws which may bind a particular sect or which may apply to an institution, such as a religious endowment or a mutt. These rules were and are still recognised by the courts and therefore laws in a proper sense.

To understand the term "Sources of Law" one should appreciate the legal systems which prevailed in ancient and in medieval South India and in North and East of Ceylon, the homes of the Tamils.

No one could accurately set out the dates when the Cēra, CōLa and Pāṇḍya kings came into power.

In an ancient lithic inscription of the pre-Christian era there is a reference to a confederacy of Tamil States. The antiquity of the Cēra kingdom is well known. The Cēra, CōLa and the Pāṇḍyan dynasties ruled South India and the CōLas had an empire. The area over which these kings had ruled in South India is called the "TamiLakam". The Āryacakravarti of Jaffna too were Tamil kings and they ruled Jaffna, and at certain periods even the whole of Ceylon. Their reign lasted from the middle of the 11th Century to the middle

of the 16th Century when the Portuguese established their reign over the littoral areas of Ceylon. So that when one considers the sources of law, it should be noted that the sources differed from era to era, and from locality to locality, in the areas ruled by the Tamil kings.

The Dharma Sastras

Before dealing with the specific sources of Tamil Laws it is necessary to have a clear concept of the *dharma śāstras*, a system of laws developed by the Hindu jurists. In the vedic period (C 1500 - 800 B.C.) the invading Aryans conquered the Dravidians, Kalarians and other people who lived beyond North of the Vindhya mountains. The areas occupied by Aryans are known as Āryāvarta. They were unable to conquer the Tamil kingdoms ruled by the Cēra, CōLa and the Pāṇḍyan kings, who ruled South of the Vindhya mountains.

In Āryāvarta the Aryans intermingled and fused with the native population. Out of the ancestral cults and needs of the Aryans in their new habitats arose a system of religious and legal literature called the *Śruti*. The *dharma sūtras* consisted of mnemonic texts dealing with dharma (righteous conducts) and are believed to have been compiled between 800 and 500/400 B.C.[10]. It is the view of modern scholars that the *dharma śāstras*, which dealt with the essentials of religious and secular duties contained numerous pre-Aryan customs, such as fraternal polyandry, and institutions of law which had no meaning among the Nomads and which were adopted as a result of intermarriage and a gradual process of colonization[11]. Between the period 500/400 B.C. to A.D. 200 there emerged works written to summarise the *dharma śāstras* (the rules of righteous conduct). These works consisted of both religious precepts, practices, and principles of law written by Hindu Jurists. They were very subtle and compressed and were intended as a reformative measure to educate the public. These were called the *dharma śāstra* or *smṛtis* (the science of righteousness) and are purported to consist of the remembered wisdom of the race[12]. They were "the bedrock of juridical arguments, the scholars armoury, the communities of disciples bible and the judges reason"[13]. The extent to which they bound the Dravidians in general and the Tamils in particular is a matter of controversy. Mayne, in his monumental work on "*Hindu Law and Usage*" observes that the *dharma śāstras* had very little influence on the Hindu population who were not influenced by the Brāhmin advisers of the kings who ruled them[14]. In particular, he refers to "*Thesawallamai*" a system of Customary Laws which were, and even now are in a modified form, the law of the Tamils of Jaffna[15]. Professor Derrett, an eminent jurist, has shown that the *dharma śāstras* had little influence on the races

of South India till the British administrators introduced them to these areas during the British regime. He calls the British the patrons of the *dharma śāstras*[16]. Derrett's observations are fully substantiated when one examines the Tamil customary laws of Ceylon[17] and the Sinhala Laws and Customs[18]. The age of the Smṛtis flourished. People wanted to know their law. Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā* and Devaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Smṛticandrikā* are examples of comprehenśive commentaries. The period of the "Commentators" was also the period of the great digests *(Nibandhas)* prepared by the compilers[19].

The Tribunals which Administered Laws and Customs

In modern times, Law Courts, established by the state, perform the primary function of dispensing justice but the picture was different in ancient and medieval periods in South India and Ceylon. In these countries there existed numerous popular tribunals. The Judges who presided over these tribunals were elected by popular assemblies to administer justice. The village tribunals administered both civil as well as criminal justice among the villagers. The District Councils, consisting of representatives from various villages acted as an appellate body reviewing the decision of the village tribunals[20]. The family caste and super caste assemblies decided matters affecting family rights and caste privileges etc. respectively. The mercantile guilds had their own constitutions and Customary Laws were binding among its members. They had their tribunals to administer justice in matters pertaining to the guild or affecting its members. The works of Sen Gupta[21] and others show that laws and customs were administered by these popular assemblies. The kings, who were concerned with defence and levying tax, seldom administered justice, except on the rare occasions when they punished the perpetuators of serious crimes (sins), either by themselves, or through their judicial officers. It is only with the growth of the king's power his courts took over the jurisdiction of the popular tribunals[22].

The Sources of Law in India and in Ceylon

In dealing with the Sources of Law, in ancient and medieval India and Ceylon, Professor Derrett quotes the maxim of Smṛti material "dharmaśca vyavahāraśca caritram rājaśāsanam catuṣpād vyavahāro' yam uttaraḥ pūrva bādhakaḥ". He translates this passage as follows[23] :-

> "All litigation rests on four feet (or moves on four feet), as it were, namely dharma (righteousness), vyavahāra (practice), caritra, (actual usage in the sense of custom), and raja-śāsana (royal decree)".[24]

Derrett observes[25] that each later one in the series over-ruled or put out of court the earlier ; so that, for example one who relied on a previous (royal decree) would have nothing to fear from an opponent who relied on customary usage. But was this exactly what was implied asks Derrett. Later he answers the query raised by him. He cites number of passages from the text of Kātyāyana, the Hindu jurist, in setting out the actual practice in courts or tribunals in ancient India. The passages from Kātyāyana relied upon by Derrett are as follows[26] :-

> "In a dispute where the person guilty of wrong doing accepts his responsibility for it and where the real owner of the money secures his wealth by the admission of the defendant the decision is by dharma alone".
>
> "That is said to be vyavahāra where the purpose of deciding cases those who are to execute the law rely upon the principles derived from smṛti. Whatever a person practices, whether it be in accord with dharma or not, is declared to be caritra because it is the invariable usage of the country".
>
> "What a king establishes as dharma, which is not in conflict with reason (or equity) and the śāstra or with the outlook of the country, is regarded as a lawful rāja-śāsana (decree)".
>
> "Where the cause is tried by reference to inference, and ordeals are excluded, appeal to dharma is excluded by vyavahāra, but not in other cases".

In the last passage, Derrett warns us that the word "dharma" as a method of decision has two meanings namely, "righteousness" or "unseen justice, divine intervention"[27].

> "He, the king, should not disregard the rules of conduct amongst them who belong to the pratiloma castes and among the inhabitants of forts (including criminal tribes), even if they were repugnant to smṛti".

When the king gives a decision in accordance with *dharma* (here rule of conduct) then *vyavahāra* is overruled by *caritra*. Where a king considers a custom is repugnant to equity or law or justice there the custom is overruled (or repealed) by the king's command (or royal order).

Each succeeding one, when possessed of these characteristics overrules (the preceding). Any other method of exclusion (or overruling) leads to the destruction of *dharma*.

If a king decides by his own *fiat* where there is a text (or maxim) on the point it leads him away from heaven, causes ruin to the public, brings danger from the army of the enemy and strikes at the essence of his own Longevity.

Therefore, a king should decide the causes according to the *śāstra*, but in the absence of texts (or maxims) he should administer justice according to the outlook (or customs) of the country. Whatever cause of conduct is in use in a country, is of long duration and is not repugnant to *śruti* (veda) and *smṛti*, is said to be the outlook (or custom) of the country.

Between the residents of the same country or the same capital or the same hamlet of cowherds and of the same town or village, decision must be by their conventions, but in disputes between these and others it must be in accord with *dharma śāstra*. Conventions settled with the royal consent of the country, committed to writing and sealed with the royal seal should always be upheld. They should be sedulously preserved as if they were *Śāstra*, and the king should decide cases only after consulting them. Conventions arrived at by merchants and reduced to writings must be given effect to and the king should not initiate anything contrary to them. Whatever had once been decided upon as authorised by outlook (or customs) of the country, and whatever, thought not formerly in use has been laid down in deference to *śruti* or *smṛti*, shall not be departed from subsequently; and what is inconsistent with equity or Law or Justice must be avoided; that is called family usage which has come down hereditarily in a family as their rule by *dharma*. The king shall preserve it. Derrett observes[28] :—

"These verses sum up, as we may suppose, the correct śāstra position relative to the king's duty to observe and enforce customs. Sometimes there is a convention agreed upon by a village or guild accepted by the king. It is to these conventions reference is made here. Thus, Kātyāyana refers to the four sources of Law ; royal decree caritra (customs) vyavahāra, and *dharma*".

Bṛhaspati, an older authority than Nārada or Kātyāyana, says :- ([29])

"By dharma, by vyavahāra, by caritra, by royal order, the decision of a disputed matter is declared to the four possible kinds."

Where the decision is made by resorting solely to *śāstra* rules that is characterised as a *vyavahāra*. By this method alone *dharma* increases. Where the decision is made by means of the settled practice of the district with logical reasoning, and by virtue of the approval of the citizens (or merchants) *vyavahāra* is excluded. However, where the king makes the decision by disregarding the accustomed usage there is a royal decree though *caritra* is excluded Royal decree is that decision which is devoid of authority (i.e. it has no text or custom behind it ; or is not based on the evidence or any conflict between *śāstras* or among the councillors (or between the *śāstra* and members of the court). Derrett observes[30]

"It is evident that even at so early a period the maxim of the four feet of litigation was well established that there might be some vagueness as to its meaning for the three authorities differ uncomfortably and unconvincingly. Probably the variations experienced in practice made too rigid a scheme undesirable. Yet we are clear that only royal injunctions, general or particular, could overrule caritra or custom".

Sources in Tamil Areas

We shall now examine the four sources of law in greater detail in the Tamil areas.

Royal Decrees: As stated earlier Royal decree takes precedence over all other sources. A Royal decree depends for its validity on its own authority. A Royal decree puts an end to forensic debate[31]. Important sources of Tamil laws are found in these decrees. A patient search of all stone inscriptions, copper plates, grants *olas* and *śāsanas* given to individuals, temples, villages and communities over a period of two millennia should give the researcher materials on this type of source of law. The inscriptions dealing with the Uttaramērūr village in South India is an example of this type of source. The edicts of Aśoka are Royal decrees. The lithic records of South India (SII series) and Ceylon (E.Z. series) will throw a flood of light on these decrees of the Tamil and Sinhalese kings.

Caritra or Custom: What are the requisites of a valid custom? It was *sadācāra* (the usages of the good) or good custom (*śiṣṭācāra*) which were valid. *Śiṣṭācāra* was even a source of *dharma* (righteous conduct) when smrti failed[32]. In order that custom (*ācāra*) be recognized in a court it must be ancient, related to a social group *(kulajāti)* or applicable to a locality *(deśa dharma)*. It must be obligatory and should be known and not repudiated by the opponent. Hence traders and guilds, with special skills and traditions, had their own vocational customs and they had specialists to administer these customs[33]. Thus, customs, repugnant to the Hindu Socio-religious system, as set out by the *śāstra*, were not recognised in some places in India. The custom to allow the younger brother to have intercourse indiscriminately with the elder brother's wife and a custom of allowing marriage with a higher caste girl and a lower caste man were not recognised in certain parts of India[34]. However this rule was not universal. Some of the Dravidian customs, particularly the immemorial customs of Kerala remained unchanged despite the influence of *dharma śāstras* in that area. The *dharma śāstras* itself sometimes incorporated customs and often obscure passages in *dharma śāstras* could only be explained by reference to the prevailing customs[35].

Variation of Custom: Custom in any locality is never static. It changes and modifies with the impact of positive systems of law and other customary laws. It has been shown that *Thesawalamai* (the customary laws of the Tamils of Jaffna) is a blend of the *Marumakattāyam* Law, brought by the Malabar Chieftains who settled down in Jaffna after Māgha the invader of Ceylon was driven to the North of Ceylon by the Sinhalese kings, and the bilineal system, with the bias towards patriliny, were brought by the Tamils of the Coromandel coast of the East of South India, who, unable to bear the rule of the Muslim conquerers, came and settled down in Jaffna during the reign of the Āryacakravartis[36]. The Tamils who settled down in Colombo and the Northern Western Provinces of Ceylon had their own customary laws in which the influence of the *Dharma Śāstras* is strongly felt[37]. Thus, the Colombo Chetties, who settled down in Ceylon during the Portuguese, Dutch and early British periods had a system of Hindu Joint family in which the influence of the *dharma śāstras* could be clearly seen[38]. As stated earlier customs could be changed by the decree of the Sovereign. Kauṭilya sets out the principles by which the king will be guided in proclaiming a decree *(śāsaṇa)*. He says that before proclaiming a decree the king should consult *dharma* (righteousness) practice, *vyvahāra* custom *(samsthā)* and reason (Nyāya)[39].

He should dispose of the question by reference to custom or usage, by the *dharma śāstras*; or in the cases where the science of litigation, practical Jurisprudence *(Vyavahārakiam Śāstras)* would be frustrated or obstructed, then by righteousness of Law. The king had to rely on his Brahmin advisors and if a custom was felt to be unrighteous the king changed it by a decree. By royal decree customs have been changed even during the rule of the Western Powers. There is intrinsic evidence in the *Thesawalamai* code that during the Portuguese regime a fundamental change was brought about in the law of *Thediathedam* and a widower was allowed to dowry his daughter after the death of his wife from both his property as well as those of his wife's, the earlier law being that he could have dowried his daughter out of the properties of his deceased wife[40]. In the seventy-six orders promulgated by the Dutch during their occupation of Jaffna many changes in customary usages could be seen[41].

Customs often spread like a craze, says Sir Allen[42], often the customs of conquerors are imposed on the vanquished. Thus, it can be seen that customs vary according to the time, locality and environment of the people whose customs are being considered and it is difficult to state what the customary laws of the Tamils were throughout their history for a period of nearly two millennia. But the main characteristic of the Dravidian Laws, as opposed to Aryan Laws, could be discovered by examining some of the basic principles affecting

the family and property which are common to many customary laws of Dravidian origin with comparable topics of the Aryan Laws and usages and to make tentative suggestions[43]. With these introductory remarks some of the collections of Tamil Customary Laws may be considered. These collections may be classified under the following heads :-

(1) Collections made by the Western Powers who ruled Tamil Districts after their conquest of South India and Ceylon.

(2) Decisions of the Courts in the Tamil Districts during this period.

(3) Works on Tamil and Dravidian Customary Laws written by writers.

(4) Tamil Customary Laws and usages gathered from Tamil Literary Sources.

(5) Traces of Tamil Customary Laws found on an examination of the works on *Dhārma Śāstras* written in South India or in other parts of India where Dravidian influence was predominant.

(6) Written records in which are found the decrees of kings.

Collections Made by Western Powers who Ruled Tamil Land in Ceylon — Thesawalamai

The Portuguese applied the *Thesawalamai* as they found in Jaffna. De Queroz in his work, *Conquesta De Ceylon*, refers to certain fundamental principles of *Thesawalamai* but there is no evidence that the *Thesawalamai* was reduced to writing during this period[44]. It was the Dutch who codified *Thesawalamai*. The necessity to codify it was felt by Zwaardecroon[45]. The task of codifying *Thesawalamai* was soon entrusted to Dissawe Claas Isaacs, who had a good knowledge of Tamil. On the Orders of Joan Simons, the Dutch Governor, he undertook the task of codification. Claas Isaacs, although a Dutch official, had an intimate knowledge of both the Tamil language as well as the *Thesawalamai* and he collected these usages and produced the code in Dutch a copy of which is still available in the Ceylon Archives. The Dutch Code was translated into Tamil and copies were sent to the Twelve "Sensible Mudaliyars"[46]. The Mudaliyars approved the contents and the corrected copies were sent to the Land Courts (Landraads) and the Court of Justice[47].

The British Period

Sir Alexander Johnstone, the second Chief Justice of Ceylon, found on his visit to Jaffna that the people were governed by *Thesawalamai*. He said : "No

people can be more attached to their ancient institutions than the inhabitants of Jaffna, and nothing is more calculated to secure their respect for the administration of Justice than the strict adherence on the part of the Court (whenever circumstances permit, to those customs which experience of ages has shown to be applicable to their station and which are there to obtain among them all the force and authority of Law"[48]. When Sir Alexander Johnstone assumed office as Chief Justice he caused the "rude English of the Dutch translators" to be corrected and sent copies not only to the headmen of the Jaffna Peninsula but also to those who were in charge of areas of Ceylon where Tamils were concentrated. These copies which were in Tamil were received by these various headmen who sent their replies indicating how far the customary usages of the Tamils who were settled in their areas differed from the *Thesawalamai*[49]. The replies sent by these headmen contained valuable information about the Laws and Customs of the Tamils who were not governed by *Thesawalamai*[50], and give valuable information on the Customary Laws of the Tamils of Trincomalee[51], of the residents of Cottiar Pattu, Thambal Kamam, Cattoo Kulam Pattu[52], Batticaloa[53], Puttalam[54], of Calpentyn,[55] the Chetties of Colombo, Puttalam[56] and the Parawas of Ceylon[57]. A collection of *Mukkuwa Law* (Laws of the caste of Mukkuwa Batticaloa Tamils) was made by Britto[58].

The value of the *Thesawalamai* to the jurists is that it is unaffected by the dharma śāstras despite the remark by Sir Alexander in his despatches that apart from *Thesawalamai* two works on dharma śāstras were often consulted in Jaffna[59]. The unexpurgated account of *Thesawalamai* is found in Vol.1 of the first two early Legislative Enactments of Ceylon. Some of these rules are now obsolete or had been altered by statute law[60]. The decisions of the Supreme Court recognise the customary usages although some of them do not truly reflect the pristine principles of *Thesawalamai*[61]. The original Tamil translation of *Thesawalamai* is found in the appendix to Muttukṛṣṇa Collection of cases on *Thesawalamai*[62]

The *Thesawalamai* deals with topics such as slavery, adoption, guardianship of minors, different kinds of properties and their devolution on intestacy, pre-emption, pawns, pledges otti-mortgages and leases. It is the present writer's view that it contains usages which were common to both Marumakattāyam Law, presumably brought by the Malabar Chiefs who were settled by Māgha, and the customs of the Tamils from the East coast of South India who migrated during the regime of the Ārya Cakravartis[63]. The Mukkuwa Law on the other hand is very similar to the Marumakkattāyam Law and it reflects a state of society which is based on the matrilineal pattern.

Customary Laws of South India

Scholars have assiduously collected the Customary Laws prevalent in certain sections of the Tamilnad. The Manual of the Madura District (1868) by J.H. Nelson gives some of the customary laws of the Tamils of Madura during the middle of the nineteenth century[64]. An introduction to the study of Hindu Law as applicable to the French inhabitants of Pondicherry by Léon Sorge, who was Chief Justice of Pondicherry for some years, gives an account of the Customary Laws of the Tamils of the Pondicherry District[65]. The work entitled Avis du Comité Consultatif de Jurisprudence Indienne (1896) also may be consulted in this context. Other works which may be profitably consulted on this topic are :

J.H. Nelson — Indian Usages and Judge Made Law (1881)

J.H. Nelson — A Prospectus of the Scientific Study of Hindu Law.

General works on the Customary Law of India which will throw light on the Laws and customs of the Dravidians are :

(1) Mazzarella — Etonologia Dello Anglico Britto Indiana — 14 Vols.
(2) Thurston — Tribes and Customs of India.
(3) Logan — Manual of Malabar Law.
(4) Baden Powell — Land Systems of British India and Sir Henry Maine — Village Committees gave an insight into Land Tenure Systems.
(5) Madras Census Report by Dr. Cornish.
(6) Madras Presidency (1886). By Dr. Maclean.
(7) Sir Alexander Johnstone's Despatches (See Co 54/123) Sir Alexnder refers to "a variety of documents referred to by Mr. Ellis (a Civil Servant in South India) relating to Hindu Law in the 'Peninsula of India".

There are several other collections[66] of the Customary Laws of Ceylon[67] and of India[68] from which parallels may be drawn.

Decisions of Courts

A valuable source of *Thesawalamai* is the collection of cases on *Thesawalamai* by Muttukṛṣṇa. This work contains the decisions of the Civil Courts, District Courts and Courts of Request, and also of the Supreme Court during the early British regime. The collection of the decisions of the Pondicherry Courts by L. Sorge gives an insight into the Customary Laws of the Tamils of Pondicherry.

Influence of the Dharma Śāstras

As seen earlier one of the four feet on which litigation rested was vyvahāra which for practical purposes is the dharma śāstra. The basic principles of the dharma śāstras are taken from the Customary Laws of the people with whom the nomadic Aryans came into contact[69] but the dharma śāstras did not have any appreciable influence on the Tamils in the South. Derrett observes that the dharma śāstras seldom dealt with well-known Customary Laws which were not repugnant to the Aryan view of life. It only dealt with the doubtful points of religious and moral laws[70] or with substantial difficulties in litigation. Sometimes it stated a custom which was repugnant to Aryan Society and acted as a reformative agent[71]. Therefore a critical examination of the dharma śāstras (some of which were translated into Tamil) will reveal some of the ancient and medieval customary laws of the Tamils which have now been forgotten. (The monumental work on the history of the dharma śāstras, by P.V. Kane should always be consulted when one is studying the history of dharma śāstras). Dikshitar's *Hindu Administrative Institutions* (1929), University of Madras contains a description of the Hindu administrative and judicial institutions.

Tamil Literature

Tamil literature also contains valuable information regarding the Laws and Customs of the Tamils. The *poruḷatikāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam* contains a mine of information about the customs of the people who lived in the five regions (tiṇais), namely, kuRiñci (hill country) mullai (forest) pālai (dry plains) neital (sea-shore) and marutam (cultivated lands.)

In a verse TolkāppiyaNar states that the ghandarva form of marriage was recognised among the Tamils but since there were some who were repudiating the marriage the Brahma form of marriage introduced by the Aryan priests was recognised.

பொய்யும் வழுவும் தோன்றிய பின்னர்
ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரண மென்ப. [72]

The karaṇam ceremonies practised by the brāhmins, kṣatriyas, and vaiśiyas, are described in detail[73].

TolkāppiyaNar also speaks of different forms of marriage prevalent during his period in the five regions. The different forms of marriages ; brāhma, daiva āsura, gāndarva, rākṣasa, and paiśāca, are referred to in the dharma śāstras and

appeared to have been prevalent among the Tamils of the Caṅkam age[73].

The *Cilappatikāram* refers to a form of secular marriage which was in vogue among Tamils who lived during the period when this work was written. It says that, when the bride was decked in her bridal clothes and was standing by the side of the bridegroom, the elderly women blessed the couple by chanting the words, "May your embrace be not weakened"[74].

The *TirukkuRaḷ* and other literature referred to as "*patineṭṭu kaṇakku*" do not contain Tamil Customary Laws but are ethical and didactive works. Allowance also should be made for poetic exaggeration. Thus, the *paraṇi* literature may exaggerate the virtues of victorious kings, and may even set out meritorious practices which were never adopted by the kings.

KampaN in his exquisite poetical work refers to many Tamil customs prevalent during his age. Even if his patron Saṭaiyappa Va*ḷḷ*al did not actually hand over the crown at the coronation ceremony of the king, yet KampaN has brought to the notice of future generations a Tamil custom which enabled a Tamil *vēḷāḷa* to perform this high function.

The Family Laws

In ancient Dravidian societies there are two bases of family structure, the patriarchal and the matriarchal. In the former the eldest male, and in the latter the eldest female was the head of the family. Many variations of these two basic types were found. Biliny is the general rule of succession, and a special form of biliny was the rule of descent in matriarchal societies.

The unit of the patriarchal society was the family, consisting of a man, his wife and descendants. The daughters who were married ceased to be members of his family. The married daughters who were dowried left their paternal house to live with their husbands. The father was the manager of the joint estate consisting of his ancestral property, the wife's dowry and the property acquired during marriage. Whatever the unmarried sons acquired under their parental roof belonged to the joint estate. The sons could not ask for a partition of the joint estate so long as the father or mother lived, unless the latter remarried after the father's death. The dowry to the daughter was given out of their joint estate by the father, or on his death, by the mother, or on the event of both parents dying by the sons. In Dravidian society a woman could not be left destitute. The duty of giving of the dowry is cast on the manager of the estate. The sons were under a duty to pay their father's debts.

As manager, the father had extensive powers of mortgaging, leasing or alienating the immovable properties, but not the power of donating, except with

the consent of the relations. On death the properties bought by both spouses were separated, the acquired property is divided into two, and the heirs of the deceased spouse inherit the property of the deceased, and half of the acquired properties. Land could not be sold to outsiders before it was offered for sale to co-owners or co-heirs at the market price. The co-owners or co-heirs had the right of preemption. Sales of land could be rescinded at any time by paying the purchaser price and interest on it and usufructuary mortgages were redeemable. The husband had absolute control of the movables and could alienate them. The ornaments and paraphernalia of the wife formed an exception. The husband could not sell or pawn them without the wife's consent.

The Law of Wills was unknown. The same result could be achieved by donation as a person could always rescind a donation. The order governing rule of intestate succession is descendants, ascendants and collaterals. The descendants took *per stirpes*. In a matrilineal society all descent was through females. The brothers earned for their sisters and their acquisition accrued to the joint estate. The eldest brother was the manager of the estate. Relationship could only be traced through females as paternity was not certain.

Mayne[75] says that the Hindu Joint family developed from the rudimentary form of joint family system which was recognised by the Customary Law of India, which is basically Dravidian.

The separate property of the wife developed by the Hindu jurists, the *strīdhana*, is based on the Dravidian dowry system, the relicts of which are found in the *cītaNam* of the Tamil Customary Laws. The concept of the acquired property is Dravidian[76].

The Dravidian bilineal succession in which the rights of cognates were recognised greatly tempered the rigours of the Aryan Laws and Customs, and brought about a reformation in the Mitākṣarā School of Law which prevailed in the South of India.

A comparative study of the principles relating to this matter of the Aryan Law in the Dāyabhāga School of Hindu Law which placed emphasis on the patriarchal family and the agnatic relations will show how much the Dravidian Customary Law there tempered the Mitākṣarā School of Law.

In the Aryan Law, adoption was a religious institution, the purpose of which is to provide a son to a father who has no son to save him from hell.

The Dravidian form was secular. In the Dravidian form a man can adopt any number of children, males or females, even when he has his own children. But the adopted child had to be a close relation, otherwise the consent of the relations had to be obtained before adoption. Some schools of Hindu Law have some of these rules. Mayne observes[77]:

"My view is that Hindu Law is based on the immemorial customs which existed prior to and independent of Brahminism". "Custom" says Derrett "was as we have seen, at the root of the Smṛtis"[78].

Public Law

In the field of Public Law, the highly organised Dravidians of the Indus Valley, who had an advanced city civilization must have had a system of public law. The Finnish team were able to discover from the seals that the Indus Valley people had a system of administration. The king ruled his vassals, and the priestly class had considerable influence. In such a society the form of government would have been a monarchy in a feudal society. The high priests would have been the heads of the religious institutions. The king must have been assisted by a council consisting of feudal lords and spiritual Divines. Since this society had extensive trade with their neighbours the mercantile guilds which flourished in India and in Ceylon during the medieval age had their origins in the Indus Valley.

Ecclesiastical Law

The Finnish team also found that there were religious institutions and temples during the Mohenjo-daro period, therefore there must have been a system of Ecclesiastical Law. The Bo tree, sacred both to the Hindus and the Buddhists, was regarded as the abode of Brahmā, the creator of the universe, during this period. Hinduism and Buddhism had their roots in the astral religion of the Indus Valley people.

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17. H. W. TAMBIAH, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon. Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna.*
18. H. W. TAMBIAH, *Sinhala Laws and Customs.*
19. *Religion Law and State in India*, p. 153
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21. SEN GUPTA, *Evolution of Ancient Indian Law* (London, 1953)
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39. KAUTILYA III, 43-44
39. KAUTILYA III, 43-44. J. D. M. DERRETT, *Religion Law and State in India* pp. 167, 168. in which an instance is given when a king changed the customary mode of succession to a Hindu Math.
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48. A copy of the despatch is found in the appendix to *Vanleeurens Commentaries*, (1820) Ceylon Edition.
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50. See H. W. TAMBIAH, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon*
51. The *Thesawalamai* originally applied to the Jaffna Peninsula but Lt. Nagel extended its application to the Northern and the Wanni District by interpretation of the phrase "Province of Jaffna". Now it is applied throughout the Northern Province of Ceylon.
52. For a study of the Customs of the Tamils of the Eastern Province of Ceylon, see H. W. TAMBIAH, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon*, Chapter VIII.
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54. IBID. Chapter XIII.
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57. IBID. Chapter XIX.
58. BRITTO, *Mukkuva Law*
59. H. W. TAMBIAH, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna* p. 8. SIR ALEXANDER states: "These Tamils, some of whom are Christians, but most of them are worshippers of Vishnu or Śiva (independently of the Dharma Sastras, the source of all Hindu Law, The Viguan Ishuar, a Law Commentary of great authority in South India and Videyavonga's Commentary) have a customary code of their own." Videya Vanga's Commentary is perhaps Vijñāneśvara's Commentary on the *Mitākṣarā.*
60. The Law of Adoption is obsolete. See H. W. TAMBIAH, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna.* The Jaffna Matrimonial Inheritance Ordinance I of 1911 as amended by Act 58 of 1947 has altered the law of succession and the concept acquired property. The Pre-emption Ordinance, No. 59 of 1947 alters the Law of Pre-emption. Some parts of the Thesawalamai Code.
61. For a criticism of some of the judgments. See H. W. TAMBIAH, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna.*
62. MUTTUKISTNA, *Tesawalame.*
63. See H. W. TAMBIAH, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna*, The Origin of Thesawalamai, Chapter I.
64. NELSON, The Madras country. A Manual compiled by The Madras Government. Part II p. 36 et seq.
65. L. SORGE — *Introduction à l'Etude du Droit Hindou Traité Théorique et Pratique* (1887).
66. H. W. TAMBIAH, *Sinhala Laws and Customs* (1968).
67. J. D. M. DERRETT, *Origins of Kandyan Laws* University of Ceylon Review, Vol. 14. See also, H. W. TAMBIAH, *Sinhala Laws and Customs* Chapter II.
68. C. L. TUPPER, *Punjab Customary Laws. RATTIGAN Digest of Civil Law in the Punjab* (1953). BULNOIS AND RATTIGAN, *Punjab Customs.* LOGAN *Malabar Manual.* MAYNE. *Hindu Laws and Usage*, 8th Edition p. 8. H. A. STEWART, *Collection of Customs in Force in the Deccan.*
69. H. D. MAYNE — *Hindu Law and Usage*, 8th Edition p. 2. NELSON *View of Hindu Law* — Preface. See also the list of writers on The Customary Laws of India mentioned in J. D. M. DERRETT, *Religion Law and State in India.*

70. J. D. M. DERRETT — *Origins of Kandyan Law*, University of Ceylon, Review Vol. XIV Nos. 3 and 4, p. 105 et seq.
71. J. D. M. DERRETT, *Religion Law and State in India* pp. 160, 161.
72. TOLKAPPIYAM, NacciNārkkiNiyar, *su.* 145. Commentary in Tamil by GANESA IYER (1948) Translation by VARADA RAJA IYER Vol. 1. part 11 p. 235.
73. Translation by VARADA RAJA Iyer Vol. 1. part 11 p. 60-62
74. *Cilappatikāram*, Canto 1.
75. MAYNE, *Hindu Law and Usage*, 7th Edition p. 11.
76. H. W. TAMBIAH, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon* p. 36, 37. H. W. TAMBIAH, *Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Jaffna*, Chapter on Dowry.
77. MAYNE, *Hindu Law and Usage* (1900 Edition) p. 1.
78. J. D. M. DERRETT, *An Introduction to Legal System* p. 7-8.

POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN TAMIL NAD
1600-1800
A VIEW IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

S. ARASARATNAM

The history of the Tamil country in the period between the decline of the Vijayanagar Empire and the rise of the British contains features fascinating to the student of politics and society. While it is marked by a remarkable paucity in our knowledge of its outstanding developments, we know enough of it to observe its transitional character. We see here the shaping of many institutions, of cultural forms and of land use patterns as well as of dominant caste groups that continued into the period of British hegemony and indeed persist into the modern day. A basic political feature of these two centuries, and one from which flow many consequential development, is the sustained absence of political consolidation or of any likelihood of the establishment of imperial hegemony embracing the territories of the Tamil Country. In the long history of this country in the post-Christian era, the urge for such consolidation has been felt periodically, resulting in the creation of Empires based either within or outside Tamil Nad. The last of these, the Vijayanagar Empire had its epi-centre just north of Tamil Nad but had effectively drawn within its orbit the scattered corners inhabited by the Tamils and had even nurtured ambitions over the Tamil state of north Ceylon. Throughout the 16th Century political power in southern India had been centralised in the Vijayanagar capital though it was rather fitfully exercised because of a military type of feudalistic control under which provinces were ruled.

Vijayanagar history, its political and social institutions, and evolutions in land control have been widely studied, though it is true many questions remain unanswered. Admittedly, these studies tend to be descriptive, factual and oriented towards imperial rather than provincial institutions. The pioneering works of Sewell and Heras have led to the monumental study of administration and social life of the Vijayanagar Empire by T. V. Mahalingam. A more recent work, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar* by Dr. A. Krishnaswami, redresses the balance somewhat by centering attention on provincial and subordinate governments. Of great significance is the work of Burton Stein on changes in land control, the extensive growth of the land-owning temple and its impact on agricultural operations and economic life in general. Much of what he says is

of relevance to the later period that is under review. Dr. Krishnaswami painstakingly argues for a later date for the dissolution of the authority of the Empire and brings up many instances of the assertion of such authority into the middle of the 17th Century, in relation to the Nayakdoms of Madura and Tanjore as well as other dependent territories to the north. Incontrovertible though these arguments are, it is nonetheless true, as Sathianathaier convincingly demonstrates, that the dynastic civil war of 1614-17 was the 'grand climacteric' of the Vijayanagar Empire. It encouraged the Nayaks to intervene in the succession struggles, to espouse the cause of contenders and set them on the road to independence long before the actual dissolution of the Empire.

Yet even at the best of time, the structure of the Empire was such that the subordinate provinces or Nayakdoms had considerable autonomy. The famous Nayankara system was a type of military feudalism in which the feudal lord or Nayak was obliged to keep under arms for his sovereign lord a certain number of infantry, cavalry and elephant corps. In addition he had to deliver a fixed annual tribute to the centre. Having fulfilled these obligations, the internal administration of the country, the maintenance of law and order and even its defence from external attack was his responsibility. Thus even at the outset these Nayakdoms were organised as autonomous administrations under the personal control of the Nayaks. These Nayaks were generally members of the Telugu war-lord class, sometimes scions of the Vijayanagar imperial family, who had served Vijayanagar kings as the agents of their southward expansion. Sometimes, though rarely, scions of older and traditional ruling houses or chieftains were recognized as autonomous rulers of their districts after subjugation and allegiance to the Empire. The classic example of this is the Pandyan ruling house which was recognized as overlords in Tenkasi.

Thus even in the hey-day of Vijayanagar power there existed a diffusion and decentralisation of administrative power. The position can be contrasted with the conditions existing under the Pallava, Chola and Pandya Empires when it was sought, wherever possible, to centralise and bring under uniform control various aspects of the country's administration and economic management. This trend towards decentralisation and dispersal of power is a marked characteristic of the 16th Century and becomes accelerated in the two following centuries. It could well be that the reason for the adoption of, what is in essence, a singular form of imperial control (or lack of it) was the alien character of the Vijayanagar Empire, the fact that its power base was on the banks of the Krishna river founded on the Kamma warrior nobility and allied to Telugu Brahman Groups. It could also be a recognition of the pre-eminently military needs of the times — the necessity to thrust back the intruding Islamic states of the Dec-

can as well as to curb the fissiparious tendencies of local rulers and chieftains of Dravidian India. Whatever the case may be, it appears to have held the structure together for over two centuries and ensured orderly government in the Tamil country.

But it was equally inevitable that with the military weakening of the centre, centrifugalism should be more rapid than in other forms of imperial organization. At the end of the 16th Century there were three powerful Nayakdoms in the Tamil Country — those of Gingee (Señji), Madura and Tanjore. Reflecting the organization of the Empire, each of these Nayakdoms had its own hierarchy of sub-feudatories. These consisted either of lesser war-lords migrant from the north in the wake of the imperial power or of local warring tribes and chieftains with traditional influence with whom the Empire had come to terms. They were termed Nayaks or Polygars and a relationship existed between them and the chief Nayaks similar to that between these Nayaks and the Emperor.

The Nayakdom of Gingee embraced the northernmost parts of the Tamil country. One of the viceroyalties established by the Vijayanagar Emperor in 1464, it became very powerful in the late 16th Century. At the height of its power it extended southwards to the Coleroon river. At the turn of the century it dominated strategic areas of the Coromandel coastline and in 1608 its Nayak, Krishnappa, gave permission to the Dutch to build a fort at Devanampatnam. This grant was hotly disputed by the Emperor who was friendly with the Portuguese. The Civil war of 1614 was used by the Nayaks of Gingee as an opportunity to assert their independence. But the independence won by the Nayak was short-lived because the Nayakdom was soon pressed on all sides. In the south the expanding state of Madura encroached northwards into the South Arcot district while from the north the newly established Kingdom of Mysore penetrated into some areas of the Gingee territory. But it was from the advance of Islamic power that Gingee was to fare worst and eventually be eclipsed totally. For the Muslim generals North Arcot lay on the route into the rich lands of the Carnatic and the far south. The Sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda alternately made raids into Gingee. These incursions forestalled a likely consolidation of political power in the Tamil country under the Nayak of Madura and led to the annexation of Gingee by Bijapur in 1648. Along the coast, Golconda under the able adventurer Mir Jumla, annexed valuable territories embracing the flourishing ports of Paleacatte and Madras. Bijaporeans controlled the remaining parts of the coast with the ports of Devanampatnam, Porto Novo and Pondicherry. The fall of Gingee to Bijapore was confirmed in 1659 when the last efforts of the Vijayanagar Emperor were decisively defeated. The Bijapore army had gained control of this vital gateway into the far south and devastated

the whole countryside up to Tanjore without meeting with any resistance. There after the Bijaporeans set about establishing a civilian government in the country and Muslim and Mahratta rentiers and local officials gradually replaced Tamil and Telugu administrators who had functioned from the 14th Century. The period of Bijapore control coincided with the expansion of European trade in the south Carnatic. The English established a factory at Devanampatnam (Fort. St. David), the Dutch had two at Tegenampatnam and Sadraspatnam and later the French established one at Pondicherry.

The steady revenues from land always produced by the Arcot district and the prosperity resultant on increased trade provided a constant attraction to external invaders, at a time when mobile military power and adventurism were the order of the day. This was what brought the Mahrattas in, who had already played a minor role as Bijapore mercenaries. Now it was the turn of Sivaji who had emerged as a formidable conqueror in the Western Deccan. His forces invaded Gingee with help of the Sultan of Golconda and seized that territory in 1678. It was annexed to the Mahratta Kingdom and a Maharatta military and revenue system superimposed on it. Mahratta Brahmins and nobles replaced Muslim district rulers and temporarily the tide of Muslim domination was thrust back in favour of a Brahmanical political system.

While thus the northern part of the Tamil country was undergoing political turmoil, in the wake of a multi-lateral conflict between the successor of the Vijayanagar Empire, the Deccan Sultanates and the Mahrattas, in the south political systems were being crystallised in a relatively placid manner. The strongest of the succession states of the Vijayanagar Empire was the Nayakdom of Madura. It was founded by Visvanatha Nayak, the son of Nagama, an official in the court of Krishnadeva Raya, the Vijayanagar Empire. Founded after the defeat and deprivation of the legitimate Pandyan dynasty, its administration was overhauled with the superimposition of a strong Telugu element, particularly in military affairs. The *Pāḷaiyakkārar* or Polygar system was regularly introduced into the country by the first Nayak. It was a way of providing for the defence of the extensive state as well as of incorporating defeated and minor Tamil chiefs of the area into the new political system. The country was divided into *Pāḷaiyam* and a *Pāḷaiyakkārar* or leader was put in charge of each *Pāḷaiyam*. He had to keep a certain number of men under arms, provide them to the Nayak at call, keep law and order in the *Pāḷaiyam* and deliver a portion of the revenues of the state. In return he received all the state dues within his *pāḷaiyam* which he could collect in the way he desired. Being possessed of police powers and maintaining an army, it can be easily understood that these Polygars (as they were later known) became feudal lords with wide powers over revenues and civil

matters. In the centre at Madura the power of Telugu military lords and Nyogi Brahmins was supreme. In the hey-day of its power the Kingdom included the districts of Madura, Ramnad, Tinnevelly, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore, Salem and a part of Travancore.

Considering the state of the old Pandyan dominions at the turn of the 15th Century, it must be admitted that the Nayaks did a good job of reorganisation. The invasion of Malik Kafur, the turbulent existence of the Madura Sultanate and the constant attempts at Pandyan come-back had devastated the country. Jungle had extended into cultivable land, irrigation works were in disrepair and roads were unsafe and robber-infested. The Nayaks attacked the law and order problem with success. The country was littered with fortifications where troops were stationed and the Polygars shared in the task of pacification. By the end of the 16th Century the task of rehabilitation was achieved and in the 17th Century, the Kingdom under a succession of able Nayaks was able to pursue an active foreign policy. Its enertions were directed towards legitimizing the *de facto* independence of the state in the face of unrealistic claims for allegiance by a tottering Vijayanagar Empire.

Its long coastline in the far south of the continent was the scene of intense trading activity and interest by European powers. Portuguese first established themselves on the Pearl Fishery coast in the 16th Century and cultivated good relation with Madura Nayaks. They were later dislodged by the Dutch in a struggle over which Madura had no control. Realising the value of foreign trade, the Nayaks kept the southern ports open, though gradually effective control over these ports passed into the hands first of the Portuguese and then of the Dutch. Yet the expanding trade here contributed to the economy of the country and to the relative prosperity of the 17th Century. A bye-product of this European interest in the Madura kingdom was the records left behind by travellers, missionaries and administrators on conditions within the kingdom which, if wisely used, provide supplementary information on its history.

Agricultural productivity must obviously have declined in the pre-Vijayanagar period of political strife and though there was certainly a revival under the Nayaks it is doubtful whether it was reestablished to the position under the Pandyan Empire. There does not appear to have been a major displacement of Tamil ruling groups in the Madura Kingdom by migrant elements as happened further to the north and to some extent in Tanjore, except in the militia. There was no great influx of Brahmins and no substantial transfer of land control to their hands as happened extensively in Tanjore. Perhaps the land was not fertile enough for such expropriation. The state depended on Polygars for revenue collection, a portion of which had to be handed over to the centre. Since many

of these Polygars were old Tamil chieftains, heads of tribes or castes, power relations were not seriously disturbed. The entrusting of greater power in the hands of these Polygars would, however, have had the result of encouraging feudal land relations, with a corresponding devaluation of the position of the holding cultivator. We have no records to attest this, but it seems a reasonable deduction from the position as existing in the early British period. The relatively low level of agricultural productivity caused famines at the slightest turmoil from the second half of the 17th Century onwards, a feature that continued well into the 19th Century. The worst of these was the famine of 1659-60 when families were sold into slavery in the Dutch port of Tuticorin. The Dutch Company took full advantage of this and other such opportunities to buy slaves for labour and settlement in its colonies in Ceylon and South Africa.

The invasions of Mysore which resulted in the annexation of the northern parts of the Kingdom together with the Bijapore invasions caused its decline in the last quarter of the 17th Century. The existence of dynamic and strong military powers to the north and the arrival of the Mahrattas were too much for the Madura Nayaks to cope with. From the reign of Chokkanatha (1659-1682) the Madura Kingdom shrunk in territory and had often to purchase peace from its powerful neighbours with expensive bribes. The interference with Tanjore affairs proved a costly adventure, resulting only in the establishment of a Mahratta dynasty on its throne and thus of a powerful and unfriendly neighbour which kept encroaching on its territories. Tanjore encroachment into Madura continued into the reign of Queen Mangammal (1689-1706). By the 18th Century Madura had declined from a position of potential strength and leadership in southern politics to one of destitution and debility. The Government's control over feudatories weakened and Polygars grew in independence. When the final blow came in 1736 and Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of the Mughal Nawab of the Carnatic, partly by intrigue and partly by force dispossessed Queen Minakshi (1732-36), the Kingdom was an empty shell of mutually warring Nayaks unable to exert any authority over Polygars and other subordinate rulers.

External trade contributed in some way towards the prosperity of Madura. The state was not actively participating in trade, unlike contemporary Islamic rulers in the Deccan and to the north. Some of its subjects — Muslims, Paravas, Chetties and Pillais — engaged in trade of one form or the other. The Bay of Madura provided a safe and calm haven for small vessels that plied the coastal trade. There were a number of harbours along the Madura coast, the biggest of these, Tuticorin, had been seized and fortified by the Portuguese and subsequently captured by the Dutch. The coast contained the famous Pearl Fishery of this area which had traditionally been a lucrative item of trade for over two

millennia. It is a measure of the weakness of the Kingdom that from the second half of the 17th Century onwards it left the control over the seas and the coast to the Dutch and did not dispute their steady encroachment. Constant preoccupation with the north and the east was a contributory factor. The weaving industry of Madura was expanded by the constant demands put on it by foreign trade. The Dutch and the English were constantly working for textiles both for the European market as well as for their Asian trade. Madura provided coarse cloth in abundance, besides the finer varieties and prices were low here because of the relative inaccessibility of the market and the absence of competition. After the Dutch were established at Tuticorin in 1658, the English had tried to settle at Kayalpatnam but were expelled by the Dutch on the grounds that they controlled the seas of Madura. The Dutch made very heavy investments in Madura textiles and nearly always complained of being unable to secure textiles in quantities and quality they desired. They purchased annually to the value of over Rs.500,000 and most of this was defrayed in cash in the form of Pagodas or Madura *fanams*, both of which were much desired coins in the country. Besides this, native traders sailed to Ceylon and elsewhere with cotton piecegoods. The weaving, painting and dying industry was located in villages a few miles inland in the Tinnevelly and Madura districts. We do not know much about its organisation or the nature of labour employed. It must have been a peasant side-occupation in off season as most of this area cultivated a one-season crop. We do know something about the middleman or brokerage system that brought the goods to the market. High caste Hindu financiers, or Muslim merchants advanced money to the weavers and contracted for the goods they produced. They took orders from the European Companies and contracted with the weavers for the supply. Middleman's profits must have been enormous. In the 17th Century there were a number of such brokers in the country who could advance large sums of money. In the 18th Century there is seen a dearth of such credit-worthy merchants and European traders had difficulty in getting their orders fulfilled. In fact the decline of this trade in the second half of the 18th Century is caused by a decline of the middleman broker. It is difficult to say how much of the profits found their way into the hands of the producers. Evidently not much because conditions in the villages deteriorated and many weaving villages were abandoned.

Perhaps the most significant of these subordinate chieftains of Madura who later carved out an independent principality for himself was the Sethupathi or Thevar of Ramanathapuram. Originally a free-lord in control of the district of Ramnad and the island of Ramesvaram, he owed allegiance to the Nayak, supplied Marava troops to his army and had indeed helped him out in many attacks

on the state. This was an instance of the incorporation of traditional authority into the structure of the Nayakdom of Madura in the beginning of the 17th Century. The Sethupathis were probably vassals of the Pandyan Kingdom and their assistance was essential towards the pacification of the turbulent Marava country. The restoration of the Sethupathis to political power dates from about 1605 with the installation of Sadaika Thevar as Udayan Sethupathi who thereafter pacified the district of Ramnad, subdued other petty chiefs of the area and secured control over the Pamban channel and over the island of Ramesvaram, including as it did the ancient and holy shrine and temple. The increasing weakness of the Nayaks of Madura encouraged the Sethupathis to play a bolder, forward policy in the area and we see Tirumalai Sethupathi and Kilavan Sethupathi pursuing an independent foreign policy, making use of the conflict between Madura and Tanjore and expanding their territorial boundaries. By the beginning of the 18th Century Ramnad had declared its independence and was a power to be reckoned with in the region. But this strength was short-lived as by the 1730's internal dissensions weakened the state which was partitioned among disputing co-tenders.

A factor which contributed to the strengthening of the state of Ramnad was the emphasis paid to commerce which was in turn helped by the strategic position held by the Sethupathi's domains. They controlled the channel between the eastern and western coast of India as well as a good part of the pearl and chank fisheries of the coast. Furthermore, Muslim traders of the coast had gravitated to the ports of the Ramnad district, to avoid the European dominated coasts of Madura and Tanjore and as a result of an ancient rivalry with the Paravas who had now embraced Catholicism and were favoured by the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Sethupathis encouraged these traders to settle in their ports and carry on coastal trade and indeed engaged in joint trading ventures with them to Ceylon, Coromandel, Malabar and Bengal. This was a source of considerable revenue and provided the wherewithal for the expansion of their power, for otherwise the state had no agricultural or other resources of any significance. The commercial activities of the Thevars brought them into conflict with the Dutch Company on many occasions, whose monopolistic policies they resented and sought to outwit as best as they could. They encouraged dealings with the English, French and Danes and tried to maintain an open market in their ports.

The third of the succession states of the Vijayanagar Empire, the Nayakdom of Tanjore, was founded in 1532 by Sevappa Nayak, a member of the Telugu warrior nobility who had been appointed Nayak by the Emperor. Among Nayaks, those of Tanjore were more consistent and more long-standing in their loyality to the Empire. Tanjore was a Kingdom that lent itself more readily to

centralised control than other areas of Tamil Nad and the Nayaks were able to impose on it an administration of their choosing. The Nayaks were doughty defenders of their sovereigns and often took up arms in their cause. They fought against the Nayaks of Madura and Gingee who were considered disloyal. After the Muslims conquest of Gingee, Tanjore was open to marauding raids from their armies. In the time of Vijayaraghava (1633-73), Tanjore declared its independence of the Empire. After his death, a succession dispute enabled the intervention of the Sultan of Bijapore through his Mahratta general Ekoji (Vyankoji), who esconsed himself on the throne of Tanjore and founded a new Mahratta dynasty in 1676. Tanjore was now drawn into the vortex of Mahratta politics and became the object of ambition of Sivaji, Ekoji's half brother. The brothers came to an agreement and Sivaji withdrew to the north leaving Ekoji to enjoy his conquest.

Even under the Telugu Nayaks, Tanjore's traditional political authorities had been supplanted by an administration of Telugu nobles and Niyogi and Kannada Brahmins. There was an influx of these groups from the north, much more so than in Madura. Even under the Cholas, the establishment of Brahmin settlements or *Agrahārams* and *caturvedimaṅgalams* had been used to extend Brahmanical culture and integrate the people more closely with the ruling dynasty. Now this policy was more vigorously pursued under the Nayaks. Many distinguished Brahmins from the north functioned as ministers under the Nayaks. The Kaveri delta was the heart-land of the Tanjore Kingdom producing a steady revenue and with a high level of agricultural productivity. The land was flat, irrigable and cultivated and there were no serious problems of law and order. The Polygar system was not adopted to any extensive degree as in Madura. Land grants were made to temples and Brahmin priests in the main. Under the Mahrattas, Brahmins from Maharashtra found their way into Tanjore and were settled on land. The surplus revenue produced by the country was used to defray the expenses on military establishment as well as to pay off invaders in huge sums as indemnity.

The external trade of Tanjore was quite important. Tanjore was an exporter of rice to other parts of India and to Ceylon. The long coastline washed by the Bay of Bengal on the East and the part that turned westwards from Point Calimere and was washed by the Palk Straits contained a number of harbours of commercial importance. The most famous of these was Nagapatnam, with historic connections, where the Portuguese were allowed to build a settlement by the first Nayak Sevappa. This settlement grew in extent, as the Portuguese took advantage of the internal preoccupations of the Nayak. By the beginning of the 17th Century it had become a fully Portuguese town where they exercised

administrative and commercial rights. The town was captured by the Dutch in 1658 and owned by right of conquest until the English seized it in 1781. The Dutch had extensive interests in Tanjore trade. Besides the large establishment and brisk trade carried on at Nagapatnam, they had factories at Adirampatnam and Tirumullaivasal. The Danes settled in Tranquebar on the Carnatic coast in 1620 with the permission of the Nayak and had a Fort and a factory there. They carried on trade here for a very long time and held the place till 1845 when it was brought over by the British. The French established a settlement at Karaikal, also on the Carnatic coast, in 1739.

The Europeans carried on a rich and variegated trade in Tanjore. It was a place where they could secure provisions in abundance for their other settlements. The Dutch bought a great deal of their requirements in rice for Ceylon. The main attraction was textiles. The Kaveri delta had a number of weaving villages and this accounts for the concentration of European settlements on that coast. As in the case of Madura, the total investments made by these traders were quite substantial. The brokerage system used here was well organised and gave opportunities to a number of Indian middleman. They were largely located at Nagapatnam where the Dutch gave business to many. There was also a flourishing sale of imported goods — metals such as copper, zinc and lead, and spices from Southeast Asia. In the 17th Century Europeans desired to settle in Tanjore and were constantly negotiating with the Nayaks for trading privileges. The fact that there were not more of such settlements is due to the naval dominance of the Dutch in these waters and the pressures they were able to bring to bear on the Nayaks. After the Mahratta dynasty came to power, they were able to follow more independent policies and encouraged free trade.

Tanjore had been the centre of a brisk trade with Southeast Asia and the Far East carried out by Tamil merchants of the South Carnatic ports. This continued in the Vijayanagar period and Tome Pires talks of traders from Gujerat, Malabar, Bengal and Coromandel as among those that frequented Malacca. At this time the Muslim element begins to predominate among these sea-farers. The Muslims of Nagapatnam and Nagore districts play an increasingly dominant role in the Southeast Asian trade in the 17th Century and 18th Century while the Tamil Hindu traders appear to drop off and probably concentrate their activities on brokerage. The Muslims of this area are called *Chiolias*, probably to denote their country of origin and were found at this period in Pasai, Acheh and Malacca where they held positions of influence in the courts of the Sultans. Their trade continued well into the 19th Century when, with the founding of Singapore and Penang, their country craft were still sailing the seas, carrying articles of trade and immigrant labour to these ports. A proper study of these Muslim

communities of Tanjore, with documented histories of some families, will be of value to an understanding of the commercial history of that period.

From the point of view of South Asian commerce, the 17th Century is the period of expansion while the 18th is one of stagnation and even of contraction. It will be seen below that a variety of factors contributed to this development. The 17th Century was in many respects the golden age of Indian commerce and southern India had its full share. Despite the breakdown of the Vijayanagar Empire, succession states that soon arose preserved in effect the administrative and political structure of the imperial period. In the first half of the century there was no serious shift in the centres of power and no widespread tussle among those who held it at local levels. The disputes between the centres and the province had left these lower levels unaffected, where life went on in customary fashion. It was in this situation that the era of competitive European commerce dawned in the Asian waters and, while in the preceding century the Portuguese were the only Europeans to trade through the Cape route at their leisurely pace, there came successively the Dutch, the English, the Danes, the French and Ostenders. The Carnatic coast was one of the areas that naturally attracted these new-comers, providing as it did a number of havens over a long coastline, a rich and populated hinterland for the sale of goods and centres of production for articles exported to Europe and other parts of Asia. It must be noted that this only supplemented the customary internal and external trade of the Carnatic, with its traditional markets in other parts of India, the middle east, Ceylon and Southeast Asia. The enhanced activity on the coast, the expanded potential of the export market, the opportunities thus offered for enterprise and business shifted the focus of economic activity to the coastal districts — a feature that is common to other parts of India besides the Carnatic, Tanjore and Madura coasts.

Foreign settlements were freely permitted by rulers of coastal states, aware as they were of the advantages of trade and traffic within their domains. The Carnatic coast was soon littered with such settlements, beginning with the Portuguese at San Thome, Porto Novo and Nagapatnam and after their decline the Dutch at Paleacatte, Sadraspatnam, Tegenapatnam, and Nagapatnam, the English at Madras and Devanampatnam, the Danes at Tranquebar, and the French at Pondicherry. In many of these places concessions were given towards the construction of Forts, factories and store-houses, concessions in tolls and tariffs, securities for the collection of bad debts and legal privileges over their citizens and others who lived under their jurisdiction. Everyone of these settlements developed into flourishing business centres in that area, the most noteworthy among them being Paleacatte, Madras, Nagapatnam and later Pondi-

cherry. They showed a resilience through frequent changes of interior government and, though they owed their continuance primarily to their exertions, succeeding indigenous governments learned to value these avenues of external trade and reconfirmed privileges granted by their predecessors.

There is no doubt about the volume of business transacted in these European settlements. In textiles alone, the staple of the Carnatic trade, the Dutch would invest about $1^1/_2$ million Rupees in all their Coromandel factories per year in the best years of this trade and the English an equal amount in their factories. Towards the end of the Century, when French trade picked up they would invest about Rs/ 750,000 in and around Pondicherry. There was then the import trade in metals such as copper, lead and zinc, pepper and spices. Yet the export trade far exceeded the value of the imports and was largely financed by the import of specie, minted and unminted. This itself formed a flourishing trade and caused fluctuations in money values and was a factor of instability in the trade. Both the Dutch and the English were never satisfied with the amount of textiles they could negotiate and were always looking for more, especially for the European market. Every effort was made to establish contact with the centres of production, to assure supplies of textiles to the desired quantity and quality and equally important, to deprive competitors of an advantage.

In the establishment of contact with the producing market, the European companies made use of Indian merchant middleman. It opened up new opportunities for Indian mercantile groups which now began to gravitate towards these settlements. Soon after the successful founding of a European trading settlement a number of influential merchants would go to live there and be accepted as brokers and suppliers. A community of interests developed between the merchants and the foreigners and some long-standing relationships were developed. These Indian merchant groups were drawn from all parts of the country and from many of the higher caste groups. They came from both the Telugu and the Tamil country. There had been a certain amount of mobility of Telugu merchants especially Komatti Chetties, in the Vijayanagar period but now this was increased and Komatti merchants penetrated deep into the Tamil country and prevailed all along the Carnatic coast. The records of all the East India Companies are littered with names of such personalities and every homeward shipment of textiles was a symbol of the exertions of these people. Besides the Komatti Chetties, who were by far the most popular, there were other sub-castes of Chetties originating from the Tamil country, other higher non-Brahmin Tamil castes such as Mudalis, Pillais, and even Brahmins. There were also some Muslims but these were relatively few in number because they generally continued to trade on their own overseas till well into the 18th Century.

Hindu merchants generally stopped being shippers and transferred to brokerage, probably because of their inability to compete with the technologically superior Europeans as well as because the Europeans had collared many of their traditional markets in Southeast Asia. Brokerage in the European factory had become a lucrative business and so we see many old, traditional families of shippers abandoning this and taking to brokerage. They showed considerable expertise and adaptability in taking advantage of the new opportunities. They migrated from interior villages to the coastline and established business in more than one centre, moving about from place to place as well as appointing relatives as proxies to function on their behalf.

It is not known what sort of relationship they had with the administrative and land powers. In the Muslim dominated areas of the Carnatic, military officers had been appointed to high administrative positions. Governorship of coastal districts was particularly lucrative in view of the revenues from tolls and tariffs and the opportunity for gain from the merchants. The Indian merchants appear to have arrived at a *modus vivendi* with these new authorities for mutual benefit. They also functioned as representatives of the Europeans, safeguarding their interest, helping in ironing out disputes with the land power and in securing concessions for them. This is a significant function performed by the merchants, one that assumes increasing importance. We see many of them going on deputations on behalf of their European clients, interceding on their behalf with the administrative officials and helping to smooth the flow of trade. Then there is also the employee of the European Companies, the dubash or interpreter, the clerk, the accountant and many other minor functionaries. These are generally men of some education, obviously drawn from the upper castes. A number of Brahmins begin to function in this way, even in the 17th Century; the classic example of a dubash in the 18th Cetury is Ananda Rangapillai, the interpreter and confidant of Dupleix. As indigenous enterprise declines in this period, more people take service under the Europeans as subsidiary functionaries.

The decline of indigenous enterprise and of the merchant groups is a marked phenomenon of the 18th Century. The introduction of European capitalist joint stock venture and sea-borne trade in vessels of much bigger tonnage brought in a new dimension into Indian trade. What was not appropriated by these massive organisations was cornered by the self-assertive and brash privateers, the European country captains, who increasingly became important in the 18th Century. It has already been noted above that Indian enterprise shifted to brokerage in the face of this competition in sea-borne traffic. A number of factors led to their dropping out of these functions and to their decline by the

end of our period as an effective force in the economic situation. They have their origins in the political instability of the time. After the death of Aurangzeb, central control over Moghul dominions weakened and in the south the Nizam of Hyderabad was the effective authority. In time even his authority became nominal and real power was wielded by the Nawab of the Carnatic who was stationed at Arcot. The administration of the conquered Tamil districts was under him and he appointed various officials of his army to rule over different parts. These offices were much sought after because they were lucrative and, in regard to the land revenues and other taxes, the method of auction was widely adopted.

The local authority thus had wide powers in the collection of taxes. These offices were generally of short duration as power at all levels was insecure and subject to violent change. An incumbent would thus want to make the most money during his period of office. The European records abound in instances of attempted extortion by these local officials on this or that pretext. It is reasonable to assume that the officials looked upon wealthy merchants too as their objects of prey. It is recorded that in the middle of the 18th Century, merchants were reluctant to reveal liquid assets for fear of extortion. The credit-worthiness of the merchant had declined. While previously there were many merchants who could invest up to 500,000 Rupees, individually or in a cumulative fund, now they are found to be unable to do so. They ask for substantial advances before they can contract for the supply of cloth and quite understandably the Europeans are reluctant to make advances in an insecure climate. It is difficult to understand how this decline took place, except in a context of extortion, bribery and excessive taxation. Sometimes merchants sought the protection of their European client against local officials but the Europeans were as yet in no position to offer such protection. By the 1750s many of them had returned to their ancestral villages. Some were bankrupt or in dire need. Others had taken up permanent subordinate employment with the Europeans. Those who did still have some capital probably converted it into gold and hid it away from the prying eyes of the officials. The appreciation in the value of gold coins, such as the pagoda, in certain parts of the country and its subsequent scarcity led to the belief that they were being smelted down for gold.

Another factor indicative of trends was the drastic rise of prices recorded from the beginning of the 18th Century. Both the English and the Dutch factors complained every year of increasing prices of textiles, cotton, yarn, indigo and various dyes. Brokers were asking for increases in the price of all varieties of woven and painted cloth and there were interminable arguments with the principals before the conclusion of each contract. Basic to all this was the in-

creasing price of rice. At all times this commodity was susceptible to fluctuations in price depending on the harvest. But there is noted a marked difference between the standard price in a good year in the 17th Century from that in the 18th Century. One of the factors that caused this was undoubtedly the unsettled conditions in the country and the resultant decline in productivity. Another was the ever-increasing demand in this period, with the expanding consumption and trade of the Europeans, rice brought to the market in Tanjore was snapped up in no time and in fact there were advance orders. The Tanjore officials held a near monopoly in this commodity through their hold on marketing and land revenues. One estimate puts the rice exports of Tanjore at 5 Million Rupees. The large surplus of exports over imports also led to increase in prices. Coromandel was always known among European traders as a gold-draining area and this necessity to use bullion in the Coromandel trade also had the effect of putting up prices. The increase in the price of essential commodities put up the price of labour.

What happened to all this money? The annual trade surplus of the region as a whole was substantial and continued through the period. Again we can only speculate. Almost all the regimes of the period were militaristic, that is to say, based on the presence of large standing armies which also performed administrative functions. The military power of the Carnatic Nawab was enormous and must have consumed a great amount of money. Even in the Nayakdoms, the emphasis of the administration was military rather than civilian. The Carnatic Nawab throve on monetary contributions forced out of subordinate rulers. The Tanjore King had once to buy off a threatened invasion with 75 lakhs of Rupees. Such *exgratia* payments were frequent in this period. This must have been where the money went. The necessity to create and maintain mobile and thrustful military machines was a burden on the country and should have consumed the surplus revenue. It was very cynically demonstrated in the period of the Anglo-French conflict in the Carnatic and the Deccan when both powers fleeced their proteges with the used of armed power whenever they were in need of money.

From the 1730's these trends were accelerated. Islamic political power penetrated southwards and the Nayakdom of Madura was annexed to the Carnatic domains of the Mughals. Tanjore became a dependency of the Carnatic Nawab, paying large annual sums in tribute. The rentier system was extended into these areas and military officers became recipients of large jagirs. Those powers that had maintained the integrity of the far south against the expanding Islamic power now disappeared or were weakened. Subordinate chieftains hurried to make their peace at the price of a large *peshkash* which had

to be promptly paid if they were not to suffer a sudden strike from an invading army. The Carnatic Nawab declared overlordship over the polygars and Rajahs of the far south. The gradual subjection of Tanjore to the Carnatic authority had very adverse consequences on its internal administration. The skimming away of substantial sums of money in annual tribute ruined the economy of the country. Internal dissensions and the invasion of Tippu Sultan compounded these effects. When, at the turn of the century, the English appointed a commission to inquire into the internal affairs of Tanjore, it found corruption and maladministration endemic and the plight of the ryot pitiable indeed. This is the unanimous verdict of early British administrators when the British power arrogated to itself the patrimony of the Carnatic Subah. The one single exception, however, was the territories ruled by the two Mysore Sultans, Hyder Ali and Tippu, who had brought about some economic rehabilitation.

When British power expanded to the south, indigenous forces took no notice, except in the far south where the tradition of independence was still kept alive among some Polygars and rulers who had exercised authority for centuries. From the 1740's the British were penetrating southwards as allies and champions of the Nawab of Arcot and his rights. The control of the central authority at Madura had been tenuous for decades and the position was no better when the Nayak was replaced by a Governor appointed by the Nawab. The Governor, Yusuf Khan, had difficulty collecting the obligatory peshkash from the southern Polygars. Those of the Tinnevelly, Ramnad and Sivaganga districts resisted any demands and sought to maintain their independence. Some of them grouped themselves into a confederacy under Puli Thevan and taking advantage of the difficult terrain, the fortified strongholds strategically located in it and the fighting spirit of the Marava people offered resistance to the forces of Yusuf Khan for over a decade. They were suppressed after a long and difficult campaign with the help of the British.

A similar chapter of resistance, perhaps the dying gasp for independence, is seen in the 1780's when the British had given up the fiction of acting on behalf of the Nawab and had come forward to pacify the country and subject it to their power and interests. Here again it was the revenue or peshkash that was the main attraction. Polygars of this region were paying only token contributions and were in heavy arrears of their annual peshkash and the British decided to put land revenue collection on a firmer footing. This time the resistance was led by the Polygars of Sivaganga and Tinnevelly under the Marudhu brothers and Kattabomman Nayakan. This last phase came to an end with some hard fought campaigns against the British and the capture and death of all the important leaders. Again the Marava fighters had been responsible for a major part of the fighting.

By the turn of the century the whole country had been pacified and was ready for the reforms in revenue administration soon to be introduced by the British. The Polygars proved to be the last defenders of local power against an imperial control that was to prove far stronger than what they had encountered before. In retrospect, looking at the two centuries as a whole, we see the accentuation of a trend that began under Vijayanagar Empire, namely the continuing domination of politics and society by alien elements from the north. Under the Vijayanagar Emperors, Telugu nobility and Brahmins had acquired a strong hold on administration. Now this is extended to economic power and dominance over social institutions. The nature of foreign dominance is now diversified. Besides Telugu elements which continue to dominate under the Nayakdoms, Islamic and Mahratta incursions brought in Muslim generals and Mahratta Brahmins. Muslim army officers replaced Telugu nobles in higher echelons of administrative power and they preferred to employ Desashta Brahmins who had already worked under them in the Sultanates of Bijapore and Golconda. In the 18th Century this process was going on rapidly and is seen not only in the Muslim-dominated area but also in Tanjore where a Mahratta dynasty had seized power. In fact the Telugu nobility resented this intrusion into their preserves and put up stubborn resistance to this dispossession. Many of these groups had become naturalised by almost three centuries of continuing power, particularly in Madura, and were joined by the local Tamil elements in resisting the Muslims and the British.

A new type of military power spread through the country. Civilian sources of authority were completely superseded by militaristic elements. Again this was a continuation of a trend begun under Vijayanagar which had been paramilitary in its administrative organisation. Political control was now exercised solely through military control and there was a heavy premium on military force. Adventurism flourished, giving rise to leaders of courage and military skill who, with an army of mercenaries, could control and administer territory. This applied more to the Carnatic Subah, which, though ostensibly a part of the Moghul Empire, was in practice a regime of military adventurers. They brought with them the higher rungs of the administrative hierarchy and, being dependent solely on military force, had no use for local sources of political and other power. Inevitably, under such a system, the indigenous elite and indigenous roots of authority suffered a devaluation. With the exception of Madura, we do not hear of Tamils wielding high political power in any of the other Nayakdoms or later under Moghul suzerainty. In Madura, Tamil administrative officials of the Pillai caste were influential for a long time but lost power towards the second half of the 18th Century. It was in the Marava states of Ramnad and Sivaganga

and some Tinnevelly feudal states that Tamil castes continued to hold on to political and economic power. In Tanjore with the passing of land control to Brahmins, it is they who wielded political and administrative power. It was in the sphere of commerce that Tamil castes continued to function effectively but even here the competition from Telugu Chetties was intense and the latter had penetrated far south. In any case trade and enterprise had come to a standstill by the end of the 18th Century. Similarly it can be assumed that popular institutions at the local levels lost their effectiveness completely during this period. The increasing power of rentiers, polygars and Brahmins would have this effect. One has no evidence on the functioning of these institutions but this is a reasonable assumption.

The dominating characteristic of social developments in these two centuries appears to be their fluid character. The everchanging political fortunes gave no chance for social and economic relations to crystalise. But social groups that were able to maintain their superiority such as the Brahmins, the Telugu military nobility and Tamil official nobility in certain areas, found themselves in a position of advantage in the era of British hegemony.

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THE CULT OF SKANDAKUMĀRA IN THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON

HEINZ BECHERT

Ceylon which is the nearest neighbour of Tamilnad plays a special role for the study of the exterior relations of the Tamil country with regard to political as well as to cultural and religious history. However the evaluation of the available material for the knowledge of the relations between South India and Ceylon has not yet been systematically developed. On the contrary, religious and cultural history of the Tamils and of the Sinhalese, has been studied almost separately and in an unconnected way.

My paper is intended as a small contribution towards bridging this gap and showing the possibilities of comparative studies in this field. My starting-point is a problem of the religious history of the Sinhalese. It is well known that — besides Buddhism — the cult of a number of gods forms an important part of Sinhalese religion since a very early period. In most of the studies which have been published, it is said that "Buddhism and Hinduism exist side by side" or that "Ceylon Buddhism is impure because here Buddhism has not superseded the cults of the gods". These views are, of course, misleading. "Meditation on the gods" (devatānusmṛti or devatānussati) forms an important part of the religious customs of early Buddhism. The cult of the gods if performed by lay Buddhists — not by monks (bhikkhus) — therefore does not mean that the religion of the Sinhalese is a "mixed religion".

On the contrary, recent research has established the fact that the religion of the Sinhalese is an "integrated religious system". Thus, it is not correct to describe Sinhalese popular religion as "Hinduistic" in terms of structure. Moreover, such a view is not justified from an historical point of view as well, though the cult of the gods in Ceylon has been influenced by Hinduism to a high degree. It is true that several attempts have been made to trace back the more important gods of the Sinhalese people to Vedic gods. Senarat Paranavitana has identified the god of Adam's Peak, Saman (Sumana) deviyō and the Vedic god Yama, and he also has put forward the theory that the Sinhalese god Upulvan is no other than Varuṇa in Vedic tradition. There is no doubt and S. Paranavitana has given proof in his studies that in certain periods of Ceylonese history Sāman was identified as Yama in literary sources, but his theory about the origin of the god remains unproved. He completely neglected the connections of Sinhalese

religion and South Indian religious history.

It is well known, of course, that South Indian Buddhism was closely connected with Ceylon Buddhism before Buddhism disappeared in South India. At one time Kāñcīpuram had been one of the most flourishing centres of Theravāda and quite a number of the *atthakathā* works of classical Pāli literature were written in South India or by scholars of South India. Connections of the cult of the gods in Ceylon and in South India, however, have not been studied yet, and many handbooks of Ceylon religion do not even mention the possibility of early relations with or influences from South India.

As it is well known, the Dravidian peoples of South India have taken over essential elements of post-Vedic religion of North India during a long process of transformation. This process of "Hinduization" of South India started about 2500 years ago and, as a result, similar religious practices spread over all parts of India, viz. the so-called "Hinduism". Within this development, the Tamils have become followers of Śaivism, particularly of Śaiva-Siddhānta.

God Subrahmaṇya plays a prominent part in South Indian religion to this day. In modern Tamil religion, this god is practically the deity second in rank after Śiva. His most popular Tamil name is MurukaN. In contemporary South Indian religion, he is considered as Śiva's son. It is, however, striking that even in the recent past animal sacrifices were performed for Subrahmaṇya, but never for Śiva. Anybody who visits important shrines of Subrahmaṇya or MurukaN, will find that most of the more famous shrines of this god are situated on the top of hills. Even in the most ancient existing poem in praise of this god, the *TirumurukāRRuppaṭai* of Nakkīrar, a number of shrines situated on hills or in mountain regions are mentioned. H. W. Schomerus has described this poem as a mirror of ancient South Indian culture before it was assimilated by North Indian influences. It was composed in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. An important characteristic of MurukaN is the spear or *vēl*. Therefore, VēlaN, is another name of this god. In his flag, one will find a cock. Now, in the prehistoric finds of Āticcanallūr a number of cocks, spears and golden plates in the form of spear tops were found. This fact suggests that the cult of this god was popular in South India already in prehistoric times.

According to general belief in South India, Subrahmaṇya is identical with the North Indian god Kārttikeya or Skandakumāra. This god is mentioned in the great Sanskrit epics as well as in many of the Purāṇa texts. Kārttikeya is the leader of the army of the god of war. Therefore, he was the favoured god of a number of warlike kings and dynastics. Already in the first and second Century A.D. this cult was practised in various parts of North India. I had the opportunity to see a number of interesting early statues of Kārttikeya in one of the re-

motest parts of India, viz. in Assam. Skanda is depicted on a number of gold coins of the Kuśāna period. In the literary sources of North India, he is closely connected to Śiva. The *Skandapurāṇa* which is one of the largest works of Purāṇa literature belongs to the group of Śaiva literary works.

In spite of these facts, Skanda has never become one of the truly popular gods of North India. In general, he is considered to be one of the inferior gods. In the famous drama "Mṛcchakaṭika", Skanda is introduced as the patron of the thieves. There is also a *Sanmukhakalpa* which has been edited recently by Dieter George. This *kalpa* of our god — *S*anmukha being another well known name of Skanda — is a *śāstra* or compendium of the art of stealing. In Bengal, Skanda is considered as the god of the thieves even now.

The very striking difference of North Indian Skandakumāra and of South Indian Subrahmaṇya makes it difficult to believe that these gods — although identified in the course of time — have been identical from the beginning. Already scholars of the 19th century, e.g. Sir Monier-Williasm, have expressed doubts. In his "Der jüngere Hinduismus" Jan Gonda also has expressed the opinion that the conception of Subrahmaṇya is not a South Indian development of North Indian Kārttikeya but a South Indian god which has been identified with the North Indian god in the course of time.

In particular, J. Gonda writes : In Old Tamil tradition we find the cult of a youthful god who was considered to be almighty, who was worshipped by animal sacrifices and who was called MurukaN. The cult of this god has synthesized partly with the cult of Kṛṣṇa, partly with that of Skandakumāra. Gonda also says that this cult had originated from a snake cult.

It seems, however, that these theories are only partly acceptable. I could not trace a synthesis of the cults of MurukaN and Kṛṣṇa in spite of some similarities. Moreover, it does not seem to me that the cult of MurukaN developed from a snake cult. Therefore, we have to search for further evidence.

Unfortunately, the historical iconography of South India does not help much. There are no Skandakumāra images from the earliest periods of South Indian art. Skanda is found only in the Somāskanda group together with his parents, Śiva and Pārvatī. This absence of early Skanda images is striking because a number of early Pallava rulers formed their names by adding the names of god Skanda or Kumāra, thus showing that they were worshippers of Skanda.

To explain these facts, we have to come to Ceylon and to compare Subrahmaṇya or MurukaN with the corresponding god of the Sinhalese pantheon, viz. the god of Kataragama.

It is well known that the cult of gods was connected with Buddhism by way

of legends. According to these early popular beliefs, the Buddha himself had come to Ceylon and had converted the ancient gods of this Island into Buddhist tutelary gods. In *Mahāvaṃsa* 7.5. we find the tradition that the Buddha has made Uppalavaṇṇa patron god of Ceylon. "Uppalavaṇṇa" is a designation of the colour of the body of this god, namely that of the blue water lily.

In modern times, Uppalavaṇṇa or Upulvan is considered identical with the hinduistic Viṣṇu. This identification is, however, recent as it was shown by S. Paranavitana. In the earlier tradition, Upulvan and Viṣṇu were two different gods.

Upulvan belonged to a group of "four great gods". Each of these four gods was the patron of a certain part of the Island. We can trace those tutelary gods in many Sinhalese inscriptions and literary works. Upulvan was the first of these gods, the god of Kataragama was second in rank. From the 14th century onwards, we can trace the identification of this god with the Indian god Skandakumāra or Subrahmaṇya. Kataragama (Kājaragāma) was the holiest place of worship of this god. The name of this place has become the name of the god himself.

No other god — perhaps with the only exception of Upulvan — is mentioned as often as the god of Kataragama in Ceylonese literary sources. The continuation of *Mahāvaṃsa*, the so-called *Cūlavaṃsa*, informs us that king Dappula made a pilgrimage to the god in Kataragama. The fame of the god spread as far as to distant Thailand : the Pāli chronicle Jinakālamālī of Ratanapañña from Siam mentions this god under the name of Khattagāma. Robert Knox gives an impression of the importance of the cult of Kataragama in his time when he writes that nobody — not even the worst enemies of the Sinhalese king — would dare to help the Portuguese or the Dutch to capture this place of worship. We have to add the remarkable fact that Kataragama is the only god common to the religion of the Väddās and to that of the Sinhalese. In the main temple of Kataragama, there is no image of the god but a yantra — a magical diagram — which represents the god. The temples of Kataragama in Ceylon are marked by red flags whereas those of Upulvan are marked by blue flags. The priests of the main temple of Kataragama are non-Brahmins, they are Sinhalese kapurālas.

As one should expect, there are many contradicting traditions concerning the history of the god of Kataragama. Many of these were collected and published in the monograph on Kataragama by Paul Wirz. There is also a number of Sinhalese texts which contain similar material, e.g. Kanda-mālaya, Kandasuravaruna, Kadirapura-devi-upata, Kanda upata etc. Many of the traditions contained therein are easily recognized as traditions which have been taken over

from India at a comparatively late period. Most probably, these traditions were brought along with the large number of Brahmins that immigrated from India to Southern Ceylon in the period from the 12th to the 15th century.

One of the two wives of the god is of North Indian origin, too, viz. Devasenā. Devasenā is nothing but a personification of the army of the gods led by Skanda. The cult of Devasenā was brought to Ceylon as late as in the first half of the 17th century by a North-Indian immigrant, Kalyāṇagiri. The temple of Devasenā is the only temple in Kataragama whose priests belong to the Brahmin caste.

The traditions concerning the other wife of Kataragama, however, belong to the stock of indigenous traditions. According to these beliefs, the god came to Kataragama to marry a Väddā girl named Valli-ammā. Both resided on the top of the hill of Old Kataragama or Vädahiti kanda. Later on they shifted to the present site.

As I have already mentioned, Subrahmaṇya in India is always connected with god Śiva. On the contrary, the Sinhalese never worshipped Śiva. The Śiva temples of Ceylon which are found in Pollonnaruva etc. were temples of Dravidian mercenaries, not of the Sinhalese. Therefore, these temples were called "kovil", not devālayas.

If we compare Kataragama in Sinhalese religion and Subrahmaṇya in Tamil religion, we find some important differences. In Ceylon, Kataragama belongs to a group of gods the foremost of which is Uppalavaṇṇa whereas in South India, Subrahmaṇya is the second god and son of Śiva and does not belong to a well defined group of gods.

This difference consists, however, only between modern Sinhalese religion and modern Tamil religion. It did not exist in an earlier period as we can see from Old Tamil literature. The earliest works of Tamil literature are not dated like many other books written in India. There is, however, no doubt that those works which I will quote now, belong to a period prior to the 7th century.

In the earliest Tamil prose work, *Tolkāppiyam (Poruḷatikāram 5)* a group of four gods is mentioned. These four gods preside over the four regions of the country :

MāyōN over the region of forests.
CēyōN over the region of hills,
VēntaN over the townships, and
VaruṇaN over the sea-coast.

Varuṇa is the only one of these who has a Sanskrit name ; in epic Sanskrit literature he is the god of the sea, whereas in Vedic literature, Varuṇa was the highest god. VēntaN is identified as Indra by the commentators. This remains,

however, uncertain. The names of the first and of the second god, MāyōN and CēyōN, have the meanings "a person of blue colour" and "a person of red colour". According to the tradition, these are names of Viṣṇu and Subrahmaṇya.

A group of four tutelary gods is mentioned in other early Tamil sources as well. In all these lists, Viṣṇu or MāyōN and CēyōN or MurukaN are mentioned. The two other gods of the list of the *Tolkāppiyam*, viz. VēntaN and VaruṇaN, are replaced in later works by Śiva and Rāma. In the famous *Cilappatikāram* temples of five gods are mentioned: besides Viṣṇu and MurukaN they are Śiva, Rāma and Indra.

There is — as we can see from the references given — conformity of early Tamil religion with Sinhalese religion, viz. :

A group of four gods — in some sources five gods — rules or protects the different parts of the country. MāyōN like Uppalavaṇṇa has the first and CēyōN like Kataragama has the second rank or place in this group. MāyōN like Uppalavaṇṇa is characterized by blue colour, CēyōN by red colour. CēyōN is like Kataragama the god of the hills. There is conformity in many other ways. Take, e.g., the Valli-amma legend. Kataragama took his wife Valli from the jungle people of the Väddās. Similarly, MurukaN or CēyōN took his wife Vaḷḷi from the jungle folk of South Indian hills. This is recorded in *Cilappatikāram* and other early Tamil works.

These common characteristics of Sinhalese and early Tamil religion are earlier than the identification of MurukaN and Kataragama with the North Indian Skandakumāra.

One could object to this that the third and the fourth of the "four great gods" in Sinhalese and in old Tamil tradition are not identical. But we can show that later cults have displaced the original gods in both traditions. In Sinhalese inscriptions, e.g. in the Laṅkātilaka inscription of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV (1341-1358) the four gods are Upulvan, Kandakumāra, Sumana and Vibhīṣaṇa. In the *Jinakālamālī* we find the following four gods : Sumana, Rāma, Lakkhaṇa, Khattagāma. In this list, Upulvan was identified with Viṣṇu — here Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and Vibhīṣaṇa is displaced by Lakṣmaṇa. Later on, Lakṣmaṇa was identified with Saman. In a later period, we find five gods as patrons of the Island : Kataragama, Upulvan, Saman, Nātha and Pattini. Here, Nātha is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and Pattini is the heroine of the Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram*. Vibhīṣaṇa lost his position and remained only a local deity of Western Ceylon. Since the 18th Century, generally Viṣṇu, Kataragama, Nātha and Pattini are considered as the four patron gods.

Similarly, the group of four gods in ancient Tamil literature was changed in the course of time. In *INNā NāRpatu*, e.g., Śiva, Baladēva, Viṣṇu and Muru-

kaN are mentioned as the four main gods.

There can be no doubt that these facts establish a close relationship between the earliest traceable forms of the Sinhalese and the Tamil system of gods, and that MurukaN, CēyōN or Kataragama was one of the two main gods of this early religion. Secondly, there can be no doubt that this god was identified with the North Indian Skandakumāra only in the course of the spread of Sanskrit culture to South India and to Ceylon in the mediaeval period. The absence of early images of MurukaN in South India is explained if we accept that in early times this god was represented by symbols or by yantras but not by images — as he is even now in the main temple of Kataragama.

We have to ask now for the reasons for the identification of this god with the Skandakumāra of North Indian tradition. I would like to suggest two main reasons. Firstly, important dynasties as the Kadambas and the Pallavas in the South came from North India. MurukaN, the youthful god of the South was especially suited for an identification with their dynastic god Skandakumāra. Secondly, it was advisable for the protagonists of the new Brahmanical religion and the Śiva cult to bring the important indigenous god MurukaN into a close relationship to the highest god of the Hinduized form of their religion, Śiva. Here again it was easy to identify MurukaN with Skanda, the son of Śiva.

But by this identification of CēyōN or MurukaN with Skandakumāra the characteristics of this god in Tamil religion were much changed. The group of four guardian gods to which he belonged, went into oblivion. The red colour as a characteristic of the god lost its importance in South India. Only a few of the old features of the god survived: animal sacrifices, non Brahmanical priests officiating in some of the earliest MurukaN temples, e.g. in PaLaNi, and similar peculiarities. These features remind us of the fact that in the present Subrahmaṇya cult, the cult of Skanda was amalgamated with that of the ancient god CēyōN.

In Sinhalese religion, the development was quite different: here, Kataragama retained his old position by the side of Uppalavaṇṇa, and he retained many of his old features.

This different development can be explained by the different structure of Sinhalese religion. The cult of the gods was placed at a lower level below Buddhism. Therefore, the impetus for a further development of the ideas of the gods was much less than with the Tamils where the cult of the gods formed the higher level of religion. It is not surprising, therefore, that the cult of the gods could retain certain archaic features in Sinhalese culture which were lost in South India.

The explanation of these old cultural ties of Ceylon and South India will

be somewhat hypothetic in the present state of our knowledge and I would not like to make any definite suggestions. There may be a common older stratum of population which was represented by the Nāgas in Ceylon. Other explanations are possible as well. In any case, the study of Ceylonese tradition helps to evaluate important developments of South Indian culture and to trace the earlier phases of the spread of Tamil culture.

TAMIL STUDIES AND MON-KHMER LINGUISTICS

PHILIP N. JENNER

The circumstance that I come to you as a stranger to Tamil studies would seem to call for explanation. My particular field of interest is Mon-Khmer comparative and historical linguistics. I therefore have certain doubts regarding the propriety of my being among you at all, and it is not without some diffidence that I have agreed to take part in these scholarly proceedings, to which my contribution will be at best very modest indeed.

The fact is, this Third International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies offers us Southeast Asianists an excellent opportunity to voice an appeal to you Tamil scholars — a *unique* opportunity, I might say, to direct your attention to a way in which we might help one another in a most substantive manner. My purpose in being here is hence the essentially simple and straightforward one of pointing out that we need one another much more than has evidently been supposed. I wish to suggest that, if we are to continue making headway in those areas in which our interests coincide, we must learn to communicate and to profit by one another's knowledge and experience.

The situation as I see it is roughly this. When the curtain of history goes up in mainland Southeast Asia we find this region already divided up between an impressive number of city-states, which are Hinduized or Indianized by the time we first know them. No state of which we have any knowledge appears to be based on an indigenous culture, and all of those we do know with the single exception of Vietnam are in some kind of contact with India. Between the 1st and 9th centuries A.D., moreover, the lowlands and coastal areas of a great part of the mainland are occupied by (1) *the Mon*, cutting a long, diagonal swath across what is now lower Burma and Thailand; (2) *the Funanese*, in the lower Mekong valley and delta in what is now South Vietnam and Cambodia; and (3) *the Khmer*, originally located to the north of the Funanese in what is now Northeast Thailand and Lower Laos but around 550 A.D. filtering down into Cambodia and the Mekong delta and absorbing Fu-nan. The Mon had such centers as Sudhammavatī (modern Thaton), Dvāravatī, and (somewhat later) Pegu. The Funanese had a thriving maritime state known to us only by a Chinese name, which became the rival of the later Śrīvijaya. The Khmer, between 550 and 802 A.D., established a number of petty principalities on the middle and lower Mekong and, after 802, created the so-called Angkorian empire which encompassed

Dvāravatī and other Mon territories and endured down to about 1430.

I must explain parenthetically that I am assuming somewhat arbitrarily that the Funanese spoke a Mon-Khmer language. The earliest dated monument of Khmer found thus far is an inscription of 611 A.D. (bearing the two inventory numbers of K.557 and K. 600), which is some sixty years after the collapse of *Fu-nan*. It is true that there are other Khmer inscriptions which are *probably* earlier; but these are undated and cannot be attributed to Fu-nan with any certitude. Also, we have a respectable number of dated inscriptions from Fu-nan, but all of these are in Sanskrit. For this early period there are no inscriptions in any other idiom, and we are simply not in a position to assert that Khmer was or was not the common language of Fu-nan. What that language was we do not yet know. Two hypotheses have arisen on this problem. One favored by the late lamented Professor Cœdès makes a cautious identification of Funanese with Khmer. The other, favoured by Pierre Dupont and a number of others, inclines to regard Funanese as Austronesian. However this may be, we presently have only three lexical items known to have been used in Fu-nan : *bnaṃ* *[ßʰnˑɔm] 'hill, mountain', *dalmāka* *[dəlˈmaˑk] 'lasso-thrower, hunter', and *kuruṅa* *[kωˈrωˑṅ / kəˈrωˑṅ] 'chief, king'. All three of these are also attested in Old Khmer. *Bnaṃ* and *dalmāka* are pretty clearly Mon-Khmer while *Kuruṅa* poses a dilemma, being also found in Old Cham, Old Javanese, and Old Mon: it may be a loan from Austronesian (as far as Old Khmer is concerned) or it may be a derivative by infixation of /-*r*-/ from the Khmer base /*kuṅ — kɔṅ*/ 'to lie above, be placed over'.

There were numerous other Mon-Khmer groups on the mainland of Southeast Asia, of course. Likewise there were many other groups which were linguistically alien to the Mon, the Funanese, and the Khmer. For example, along the middle reaches of the Irrawaddy and farther north were the Tibeto-Burman-speaking Pyu (Tirchul) of Srīkṣetra, apparently forerunners of the modern Burmese. Along the narrow coastal fringe of Central Vietnam were the Austronesian-speaking Cham. To the north of them in the Fleuve Rouge delta were the Vietnamese, the only major ethnolinguistic group on the mainland that did not receive heavy Indian cultural influences. Then finally, at a somewhat later time (beginning perhaps in the 9th century), the various Burmese- and Thai-speaking peoples began drifting down from the north, encroaching upon their predecessors and challenging their supremacy. Because of my special concern with Mon-Khmer linguistics I wish to confine myself here to the problem of of Tamil contacts with the Mon, the Funanese, and the Khmer. In doing so I have no intention of implying that Tamil contacts with any of these other communities were necessarily less important or less interesting. The one point I

should like to make is that the earliest Tamil contacts in mainland Southeast Asia must have been primarily with Mon-Khmer speakers. Herein lies our common problem.

Tamil scholars have shown keen interest in exploring Tamil influences in Southeast Asia, and owing to your energies much new light has been thrown on the early history of this region. Historians of Southeast Asia have good reason to congratulate themselves on their good fortune in having you on their side, working "for them," as it were. They share your thirst to know as much as can be known of Tamil activities in Southeast Asia. The more you delve into this field the better off we shall all be. Today, certainly, no professional historian either of India or of Southeast Asia doubts the importance of Tamil influences in Southeast Asia. As Professor Filliozat pointed out in his Presidential Address in Kuala Lumpur in 1966, "*...the role played by Tamils in relations between India and Southeast Asia, though by no means exclusive, was very great even when they used Sanskrit to present their culture to these countries.*" In fact many Southeast Asianists now believe that Tamil contacts were the chief mode by which this whole region was brought into the Hindu orbit. Thanks to the good work that has been done on both sides, we are even now in a position to premise virtually uninterrupted contacts between South India and Southeast Asia from late prehistoric times down to the 12th century, if not later.

Surprisingly, however, exceedingly little work has yet been done by linguists in collecting evidence of the Tamil impact on the languages of mainland Southeast Asia. As far as Mon-Khmer is concerned, we have almost nothing — whereas, if I may say so, it is linguistic evidence that we need in order to gauge the depth of Tamil penetration into the mainland cultures. The fact that I come among you with only the most meagre data in hand is symptomatic of the situation.

Recognizing that overseas Tamils transmitted their culture principally through Sanskrit, I find it difficult to believe that they did not also transmit certain cultural features through Tamil itself. The bulk of the evidence we have to work with certainly points to the assumption that most areas of Tamil culture associated in one way or another with Hinduism would be presented to the indigenous peoples in terms of Sanskrit ; we all recognize the preponderance of Sanskrit in the vocabularies of the courts, the temples, administration, and the arts. But to suppose that overseas Tamils used nothing but Sanskrit is naive : outside the domain of ritual and protocol for which tradition had established Sanskrit as the language *par excellence*, they must have spoken Tamil. We may well agree that the Tamil impact on mainland Southeast Asia has been considerable and that evidence of this impact will eventually be uncovered in the Mon-Khmer languages. But we must, I think, take it as a working hypothesis that the over-

seas Tamils were simultaneous transmitters of *two* cultures: (1) a "higher" culture of Hinduism in the broad sense and in terms of Sanskrit, and (2) a "lower" regional culture of Tamilnad which had little or nothing to do with Hinduism *per se* and was probably presented to the indigenous peoples in Tamil. I am thinking particularly of such cultural areas as navigation, commerce and industry, certain crafts (such as weaving and metallurgy), and possibly even the art (or at least the instrumentarium) of music. These are specialized activities, mostly on a fairly mundane level ; they develop specialized, often vernacular vocabularies.

It is my feeling that we would all be considerably further ahead if we focused our attention on such specialized, non-Hindu areas. What we need more than anything else at this stage is Tamil, Mon and Khmer wordlists for all such activities. As far as Mon and Khmer are concerned, there are perhaps good reasons for the total lack of such wordlists. Paradoxically, vocabulary of this type is hard to collect and is often not reflected in dictionaries. By way of illustration I am circulating a list, all too brief, of certain seafaring terms culled from modern Khmer dictionaries. These particular terms, as far as I know at the moment, are referable neither to Mon-Khmer nor to Sanskrit and may consequently have entered the language from Tamil or some other source, such as Chinese, Arabic, or Malay. I have found scores of other nautical terms, of course. Many of these are periphrastic Khmer expressions which, frankly, smack of the landlubber and probably represent no more than a lexicographer's attempt to *explain* a foreign term. Among others I have collected, far too many are Sanskrit and I find it hard to believe they were ever current among Khmer sailors. Nowhere, moreover, do I find terms for *to bail*, *bilge*, *boom*, *bulkhead*, *cabin*, *to calk*, *capstan*, *draft*, *forecastle*, *to furl*, *gaff*, *gunwale*, *halyard*, *howser*, *keel*, *lee*, *porthole*, *ratline*, *rigging*, *to scull*, *scupper*, *sheet*, *shroud*, *stanchion*, *stay*, *strake*, *to tack*, *tackle*, or *windward*. It goes without saying that not all of these may be applicable to the vessels used by the Khmer or Tamil. I am willing to accept the absence of special terms for *starboard* and *port*, but there must be technical terms for many just cited. The fact that I cannot locate them reflects the present unhealthy status of Khmer lexicography, including the prejudices of lexicographers, and the extreme difficulty of carrying out fieldwork in Cambodia, at least in this direction. For the time being this situation appears to be irremediable.

At all events, there are definite limitations on what we Southeast Asianists can accomplish alone. We need your help in getting technical wordlists for Tamil before we can start developing our own for Mon and Khmer. It is my belief that if we can awaken your interest in this problem and gain your cooperation, all of us stand to gain much. Tamil linguists are well versed in their own culture

and history ; you probably have a much better grasp than we outsiders do of Indian history as a whole, aud can probably read the Sanskrit inscriptions of Southeast Asia with considerably greater facility. On the other hand, Southeast Asian linguists in many cases may have greater familiarity with the contours of Southeast Asian history, and have access to the vernacular inscriptions; we are probably in a better position to bring all the local linguistic evidence to bear on our common problem. But life is too short for us to be Tamil experts at the same time.

We both want the same thing, namely, hard evidence of Tamil linguistic influence in Southeast Asia. By permitting our non-cooperation to continue, we are only hurting ourselves. I suggest we pool our knowledge and work together.

APPENDIX

Anchor	*yuthkā*
Ballast	*saṇtūna*
Boat (large)	*kapā'la*
Cask	*dhuṅa*
Charter, to	*phwla*
Compass	*trī visaⁿya*
Crane	*kriəla*
Deckhouse	*ṭaṃpūla*
Dock	*kaṃba'ṅa, 'ī̈*
Gangplank	*sbāna*
Gull	*raṃbe*
Hammock	*aṅriṅa*
Junk	*saṃbau*
Line, cable	*bwra*
Oar	*cr̆avā, janla'ṅa*
Paddle, to	*cēva, 'uṃ*
Raft	*kpūna*
Side, board	*gēma*
Tide	*jora*

SESSION VI

TAMIL SOCIETY

ROBERT E. FRYKENBERG

X. S. THANI NAYAGAM

JEAN CHAÏA

R. RAMANI

THE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY TAMIL GROUPS

A Survey

X. S. Thani Nayagam.

In the *Journal of Tamil Studies* as well as in structuring a University course of study, the term "Tamils Overseas" was used in imitation of titles such as "Overseas Chinese" and "Indians Overseas". But the term "Tamils Overseas" raises the question as to which is the 'home country' and which the migrant country. While government sponsored migration to the British Colonies was discontinued since 1947, there have been movements of repatriation from Burma, from Ceylon, and from Malaya and Singapore, and citizenship and repatriation remain live and continuing problems still negotiated between governments and between political leaders. Tamil migration on an individual scale but in appreciable numerical totals still continues to Great Britain and France, and to the developing countries of Africa, and to a few other countries, for employment or for study.

While through recorded history, India and Ceylon might have been considered separately and equally countries of Tamil-speaking populations, today it would not be correct to speak of Tamil-speaking groups in Malaysia, Singapore, or Mauritius as being 'Tamils Overseas' since these countries are the one and only home of those who are registered citizens of these countries. For how many generations has a migrant group to be resident in a particular country, for that country to become its home ? The period required would depend on a great many political, social and individual factors which would vary from group to group and from country to country.

The term "Tamil" does not admit of a single and all-inclusive definition. For our purpose the term would include all those who are (a) *ethnically* considered Tamil (b) whose *mother-tongue* is Tamil (c) who are *culturally* Tamil (d) whose *origins* are distantly Tamil. They might have one or more of the above qualifications in order to be included in some aspect or other of studies concerning Tamils. While Tamil speakers in India and Ceylon would come under (a), those descendants of Tamils in the French Antilles would come under (d). There are Western oriented and English or French-speaking Tamils in Malaysia, Singapore, Natal, and in Mauritius and Reunion, whose mother-tongue (language of the home) is not Tamil but who are ethnically and culturally Tamil. Within the

same country, you might have groups at different social levels belonging to one or more of the four categories.

The criteria used by official census in different countries for designating Tamils or Tamil speakers or Tamil households are not uniform. In many countries, for purposes of sociological and cultural study of Tamil groups, one would include a great number of individuals who would not be classified as "Tamil" in the official census. Among descendants of Tamils in Trinidad or the French Antilles, the research worker might have to search for his informants from the surnames they bear, for there is no vestige left among such groups of any *Tamil-ness* except the name, and that too often anglicized or gallicized or otherwise spelt or split beyond recognition.

Geographical Distribution and demographic statistics of Tamil speakers or groups of Tamil descent :

I.	India.	30,562,706 (1968)
II.	Ceylon.	2,371,036 (1953 : approx.)
III.	Malaya and Singapore.	634,681 (1957)
		23,000 (1947) Ceylon Tamils
IV.	Burma.	200,000 (1966)
V.	Indonesia.	5,000 (1968 : approx.)
VI.	Vietnam.	Not known. Earlier in 1950 circa 5,000.
VII.	Fiji.	1,498 households (approx. 25,000) 1956
VIII.	New Caledonia, Tahiti.	negligible
IX.	Union of South Africa.	Natal. 250,000 approx. (1956)
X.	Rhodesia	(not known)
XI.	Mauritius.	44,044 (1963)
XII.	Reunion	
XIII.	Guadeloupe.	10,000 (1953)
XIV.	Martinique.	14,000 of Tamil descent (1953)
XV.	Cayenne	
XVI.	Surinam	
XVII.	British Guiana	4.4 (approx.) of S. Indian origin (Jayawardana)
XVIII.	Trinidad.	

Both geographical distribution and demographic statistics have fluctuated during the 19th and 20th centuries.

History

The history of Tamil migrations and a study of Tamil communities all

round the world has yet to be made. Works on "Indians Overseas" (CUMPSTON, GANGULEE, GILLION, KONDAPI, LANKASUNDARAM) contain references to the immigrants from the Madras area, and more specialised works on Ceylon (KODIKARA), Burma (CHENG SIOK HWA), Mauritius (BENEDICT), Fiji (MEYER), contain chapters or several pages which deal more directly with Tamil groups. The studies relating to Ceylon (BASTIAMPILLAI), to Guadeloupe (GUY LASSERRE), Reunion (DUPON) and to Martinique (THANI NAYAGAM) are studies which concern almost exclusively groups of Tamils or of descendants of Tamils. Since the story of Indians in Malaya is by and large the story of Tamils in Malaya, the books of KERNIAL SINGH SINDHU and R. K. JAIN are very relevant. ARASARATNAM's *Indians in Malaysia and Singapore* is the kind of book one would like to see concerning every country in which there is a sizable population of Tamil speakers or groups of Tamil origin.

The beginnings of Indian migration in the modern period are not absolutely certain, and contradictory and conflicting statements have been made as to when the first migrations commenced and to which country. There has been immigration during the European phase from South India to Ceylon, to South East Asia and Africa. The Portuguese and the Dutch took their Indian subjects to their other colonies such as Java and Malacca. It is however with the British and French periods of colonial policy that *Immigration* begins to be an organized movement, sponsored and regulated by agreements between governments.

Though the movement is recorded as beginning with the abolition of slavery in the British dominions in 1834 and in the French territories in 1848, Tamil migrations in the modern period had commenced even earlier. The earliest emigration seems to be have commenced towards the end of the 18th century from the South of India to the Straits Settlements and to the Tenasserim Provinces of Burma. Ceylon, of course, attracted Indian Tamil labour from India at the end of the 18th century, as it attracted it in previous centuries. With the advent of the British, and the needs of plantation development, emigration to Ceylon increased. Emigration to the French colony of Burbon (now Reunion) commenced also in the late 18th century, but no precise dates are available concerning the early years of immigration. The labourers were recruited from the French settlements of Pondicherry, Karikal and Chandernagore or from the adjoining British territories of Madras and Calcutta. Isolated evidence for the pre-1834 period is available. The commissioner of Police in Calcutta, Captain Birch stated in 1838 that he believed emigration to Mauritius and Bourbon to date from about 1819. In 1830 a French merchant, Joseph Argand carried some 130 artisans to Bourbon on contract. The contracts were considered liberal,

eight rupees in addition to an ample dietary was the minimum monthly wage and the contract was for *five* years.

Reunion was the French colony which provided the incentive and the example for other French colonies to import Indian labour. Even before the abolition of slavery in the French colonies (1848), Reunion had several Indians, domestics and artisans who had migrated because of its close administrative connections with the French possessions in India. In 1848 there were already 4,631 Indians in Reunion, most of them free cultivators on contract. With the abolition of slavery the importation of Indian labour was accelerated. In 1849, 8,078 coolies were introduced into Reunion, and the success of Indian labour in Reunion and in the English colonies of the Carribbean and Mauritius was repeatedly cited in other French colonies in support of the demand to import Indian labour. In 1859, the number of Indians in Reunion was 37,005. In the same year the number of Indians in Martinique was 6,506 and in Guadeloupe 5,006 (J. F. DUPON : 2).

Organized and government sponsored migration of Tamil labour to Burma commenced in 1826, to Ceylon in 1827, to Mauritius and Reunion in 1836, to Malaya in 1838, to Trinidad in 1845, to Martinique in 1853, to Natal in 1860 and to Fiji in 1903. The source material for the history of Tamil migrations has been abundantly cited in the works mentioned above. It now remains to search for material which is more directly related to the migrations from the Tamil speaking areas of India and Ceylon and to the history of the Tamil groups in the countries in which they live. Immigration Reports, Registers of immigrants, newspapers and periodicals of the period furnish further information, as well as family histories and interviews with the oldest Tamil speakers.

Social conditions which occasioned immigration in the first part of the 19th century are discussed by BENEDICT HJEJLE. Some reports, e. g. EDWARD ST. J. JACKSON (1938) give leading statistics concerning provenance of estate and non-estate workers. To Ceylon, most of the immigrants went from the Tinnevely, Ramnad and Trichinopoly districts, while to Malaya, to Fiji and Trinidad the majority of Tamil migrants went from North Arcot, South Arcot, Salem, Chinglepet and Tanjore districts. To Mauritius, Reunion and the French Antilles, recruitment was chiefly in the French possessions of the South and in the adjoining districts of British India. To Ceylon, the crossing was through Talaimannar or Tuticorin ; to Mauritius, Malaya, Fiji and Trinidad the sailings were from the ports of Nagapatnam and Madras ; to Reunion and to the French colonies, the sailings were from Pondicherry and Karaikal.

There was no immigration from Madras to Fiji before 1903, and the immigrants were mostly recruited from Madras and North Arcot districts. The recruitment of men for Fiji was easier in the South than in the North, but the recruitment of women was more difficult. From personal interviews I had with Tamil migrants in different parts of the world, it was evident that apart from the higher wage motive, the lure of adventure, caste disabilities, family pressures and difficulties, and the personality of the *kangani* motivated migration and mobility from one migrant country to another.

The following figures from GILLION : 146, show the relative numbers which emigrated to Fiji between 1901 and 1916 :—

EMIGRATION TO FIJI, 1901 — 1916

	Number of Emigrants despatched from				
	Calcutta	Madras		Calcutta	Madras
1901 ..	2,409	—	1909 ..	668	215
1902 ..	1,558	—	1910 ..	2,256	1,589
1903 ..	1,234	596	1911 ..	2,233	1,971
1904 ..	1,158	—	1912 ..	827	2,546
1905 ..	1,405	1,731	1913 ..	1,020	2,202
1906 ..	2,594	879	1914 ..	1,033	542
1907 ..	758	796	1915 ..	1,394	1,115
1908 ..	3,162	—	1916 ..	806	950

The mobility of Tamil-speakers, especially on the African continent deserves to be noted (see SERGEANT). But mobility seems to have been a feature among all plantation labour, and is worth a study on a global scale. (See *Tamil Studies Abroad*, p. 227).

Sociology :

The physical anthropology of the Tamils in Southern India has been studied by Dr. Georges Olivier (Sorbonne) who is also very much interested in the study of offspring of marriages of Tamils with members of other social groups. Dr. Jean Benoist of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Montreal is undertaking studies of those of Indian descent in the islands of the Caribbean.

The immigrants were of different castes and the appearance or disappearance

of caste constitute noteworthy features in these societies (SCHWARTZ). Vertical mobility in social status through education and through ownership, and the development of political consciousness, and their role in politics, are subjects for separate study. Except in Ceylon and Malaya, the Tamil groups form a minority vis à vis the migrant groups of North Indian Origin, and inter-marriage and other manifestations of inter-group activity occur in proportion to numerical strength and the degree of cultural conservatism. Where government policy does not provide for education in the Tamil language at least in primary school, the Tamil groups tend to merge with the Hindi or Hindustani groups. Diversity in social and religious customs and attitudes between the populations of northern and southern origin have been included in studies of Fiji (MAYER), Mauritius (BENEDICT), Trinidad (MORTAN KLASS). A distinction between 'Calcuttas' (North Indians) and "Malabars" (South Indians especially Tamils) was quite pronounced in the last generation even in the French Antilles. Tensions, factionalism, the generation gap, are as much noted among these groups, and centripetal and centrifugal tendencies are constantly at work in the matter of the retention of group identity. R.T. SMITH and CHANDRA JAYAWARDENE say even now of GUYANA :

"The Madras are regarded as a different sort of Indian people and are not included in the same hierarchy as the others."
SCHWARTZ : 67.

Colin Clark says of San Fernando in Trinidad :

"Some Madrassis claim that they are divided into two groups — the Moonsammies who are Brahmins, and the Mootoos, who are Sudra" SCHWARTZ : 175.

Within the groups themselves there is urban labour and rural labour, a middle class and a professional class and these different social levels respond differently to the problems of linguistic and cultural identity, to conservation and development, and to the politics of majority. A plurality of religious affiliations add to the complex sectionalising of the Tamil group. Pro-Hindi Tamil groups which would rather identify themselves with the majority of Indian descent are to be found in Mauritius, in Fiji, and in South Africa, but in these countries there exist also revivalist groups which promote the retention of their identity as Tamils or as descendants of Tamils.

Language :

The use of the Tamil language and its active or passive usage probably constitutes the principal criterion in the classification of an individual or group as "Tamil". The official use of the language in administration and in education

operates in varying degrees of effectiveness in Madras State, Ceylon, Singapore, Malaya, Mauritius and Fiji. But Central and Federal Government pressures are generally restrictive regarding the use of the Tamil language, and tend to favour the federal or national language.

An original literature in Tamil and a vigorous Tamil journalism (three Tamil dailies with a total circulation of 40, 000) exist in Malaysia and Singapore, and Tamil journalism of a sporadic kind exists in Mauritius, Fiji and South Africa. There were two Tamil dailies in Burma which have been banned since 1965.

Spoken Tamil, its local and social variations, the Tamil loans in contact languages and the contact loans in Tamil have formed the subject of pioneer studies in Malaysia (RAM SUBBIAH, CHE ASMAH), and offer a vast field in all the countries with Tamil groups for research in Tamil Linguistics.

Tamil literature and Tamil journalism and the Tamil cinema from Tamil Nadu continue to wield influence on political and social movements among Tamil speakers chiefly in Ceylon, Malaysia and Mauritius, but have no influence, in the countries geographically distant from the home of the mother-culture. In this respect the desire to preserve Tamil identity is strongest in Malaysia, Singapore and Mauritius, among those whose education has been in the Tamil medium or who have had employment because of their knowledge of Tamil.

During the last decade or two, the Tamil speaking populations have concentrated most of their political struggles on obtaining recognition and autonomy for the official use of their language in administration and in education. In Tamil Nadu, which is a constituent state in the Union of India, the movement has been against the introduction of Hindi in tertiary education, and against any requirement of a compulsory qualification in Hindi in competitive examinations of the Central Government. In Ceylon, the movement for the recognition of Tamil as an official language continues, together with the demand that Universities be established also in the Northern and Eastern provinces which are predominantly Tamil speaking. In Malaysia, a unified system of education in the Malay medium has been introduced thus eliminating the need for separate primary schools in the Tamil or Chinese medium. In Singapore, where Tamil is one of the four official languages, there is provision for education in the Tamil medium even in the High School stage. In Malaysia, the University of Malaya provides for specialised studies in Tamil equivalent to Honours Courses in the Indian and Ceylonese Universities. In Mauritius, primary education is available in Tamil for children of Tamil origin. In Burma, in Fiji, and in South Africa, there continue attempts to teach Tamil at primary level and to maintain the Tamil tradition through religious and literary associations, but these attempts are not strong enough to stem the tide of westernization and the desire for identification with

the majority groups. We do not have the latest information from Burma and South Africa, and, therefore, I can only refer you to the appendices regarding these countries in *Tamil Studies Abroad*.

Religion :

Where the language is used, religion is an additional factor of identity but where the language is not used, religion becomes almost the last mark of Tamil identity. Forms of popular Hinduism, which are specifically Tamil or South Indian, as different from Sanskrit Hinduism are to be found in all countries to which Tamils have migrated, and customs like kavadi-bearing, fire-walking, marriage and funeral rites distinguish the Tamil Hindoos from the rest.

"A temple is more important in the form of Hinduism practised by the Tamils; hence the larger number of Tamil temples (103) though northern Hindus outnumber Tamils by about five to one" (BENEDICT : 35). The cults of MurukaN and MāriyāmmaN are very popular among the plantation population, and continue in some form even in the French Antilles where it has merged with Carribean secret ritual. (See HORROWITZ). The *MāriyāmmaN tālāṭṭu* is sung with a French accent in Tamil in Guadeloupe from Mss. in romanised script. The cult of Nagūr Mira, the Muslim saint whose sepulchre is in Tamil Nadu is to be found in an identifiable form in the French Antilles and has merged into Carribean syncretism. (THANI NAYAGAM : 97).

Catholic and Christian churches, and Muslims, provide for pastoral work in the Tamil medium as in Malaya and Mauritius. At one time Tamil was very largely used among Christian communities in Africa (See SERGEANT).

The politics and contribution to economic development, as well as the conservation of Tamil culture and folkways and folk literature are other fields which contribute to this branch of Tamilology. A comparative study of the retention of folkways and folk literature among the older generation of Tamil migrants in the various countries to which Tamils have migrated would be a most interesting study.

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A PROPOS DE L'IMMIGRATION TAMOULE EN GUYANE FRANCAISE

JEAN CHAIA

Le but de cette communication est de signaler qu'il existe aux Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre Mer des documents, encore mal exploités, qui renseignent utilement sur l'immigration Tamoule en Guyane Française.

Dès 1821, le Ministre de la Marine demandait au Comte Dupuy, Gouverneur des Établissements Français de l'Inde, d'étudier la possibilité d'introduire en Guyane des familles de La Côte de Malabar et de Ceylan, "au fait de la culture et de la préparation des épices". Ces familles s'établiraient en Guyane sur des terres qui après avoir été mises en valeur par leurs soins leur appartiendraient en toute propriété. Ce projet, pertinent en lui-même, n'eut pas de suite. En 1855, le trois mâts français "Sigisbert César" qui transportait à La Guadeloupe 800 coolies venant de Karikal, subit au large des côtes de Guyane de graves avaries qui obligèrent le Capitaine à débarquer ses passagers à Cayenne.

A partir de cette date, des contrats furent passés pour introduire dans la colonie 1.000 coolies par an. Cependant, de 1856 à 1877, il n'est rentré en Guyane que 8.472 Hindous des 2 sexes.

Les documents dépouillés nous ont appris, partiellement, qui ils étaient, d'où ils venaient, quels milieux, quel genre de vie, quels métiers avaient été les leurs, leur lieu d'embarquement, quel genre d'existence ils avaient mené sur les navires, combien de passagers ils étaient, l'itinéraire suivi par les navires, combien de jours ou de semaines avait duré la traversée, comment ils avaient été traités, nourris, soignés, comment ils s'y étaient comportés, comment ils ont été reçus en Guyane, à quoi ils ont été utilisés, la durée de leur engagement, les primes qu'ils recevaient, leur morbidité, leur mortalité, etc. etc.

En 1885, le nombre total des morts s'élevait à 4.621.

Cette mortalité a paru énorme (plus de 12 %) au point que le Consul Anglais fit des représentations pour obliger les autorités Françaises à prendre des mesures de sauvegarde. Le climat des pays n'est cependant pas responsable. Comme partout ailleurs, les principales causes de la mortalité ont été le surmenage, la sous-alimentation et le manque de soins.

1.184 coolies étaient retournés dans l'Inde et 184 transférés à La Guadeloupe. Les 2.931 qui sont restés en Guyane ont fait souche, se sont assimilés et l'assimilation a pour conséquence la disparition, plus ou moins lente, des traditions ancestrales.

TAMIL SOCIETY IN SINGAPORE : 1945 — 1959

R. RAMANI

Singapore provides a very interesting case study of a problem existing in many parts of the world. It is the problem of minorities having to co-exist with other numerically larger groups ; and it seems to be a particular characteristic of the Tamil community that in every part of the world they have emigrated to, the Tamils have always been a minority. Singapore however, differs somewhat from other areas of Tamil migration in that there were no indigenous communities to claim pre-eminence in the territory. Singapore was an area of swamps and lowland inhabited by a few fisher folk when it was founded in 1819 by that far-sighted British adventurer Stamford Raffles. Thus there can be no questioning of the right of Tamils to claim partnership in the life of Singapore.

By the term Tamils is meant all persons who come from a stock of Tamil speaking people. They include both Indian Tamils and Ceylon Tamils and together form 6 to 7 % of the total population of two millions. In this group are included many Malayalis, Telugus and others of South Indian origin, who have adopted Tamil as their mother tongue in Singapore. One characteristic of the Tamils is that, particularly during the period under discussion, they have exercised a far greater influence on social and political life in Singapore than is warranted by their numbers.

A further distinction must be drawn at the outset. There were two distinct groups among the Tamils of Singapore. A large part of the Tamil community led a Tamil centred life of its own; these were persons whose orientation was largely towards South India, and who had been either recent emigrants or had kept regular contact with India. They generally had their education in Tamil. A much smaller group, generally the western educated types, also existed with negligible contact with their culturally similar but socially removed brothers. They were generally the local-born children of middle class Tamils of Indian and Ceylonese origin, and their social life was restricted to their own types and to members of other communities. They were generally the salaried and professional classes and unfortunately existed with little knowledge of the other group of Tamils.

It will be useful to trace the historical origin of the Tamil community in Singapore so as to find a proper perspective in our approach to this study. While an historical connection exists between Tamilaham and the Malayan region ex-

tending over a few thousand years, the Tamil community of Singapore today is totally the product of immigrations since 1819. Probably the earliest immigrant was one Naraina Pillay, who arrived within the first few years of the new settlement, and with the help of Raffles, established a small business and struck roots. A few others followed him and together they established some purely Indian institutions ; one of them, the Mariamman temple in South Bridge Road, is a proud testimony to their efforts. This trickle of Tamil immigration continued with a few petty businessmen and English-educated clerical assistants arriving to help in the administration of the settlement. However, it was not till the beginning of the large scale arrival of deported criminals from India in the 1850's that immigration took on respectable proportions. Labour was needed in plentiful supply to build the roads, bridges, and public buildings that a fast growing settlement needed, and good obedient labour was in short supply in the Malayan region. The British administration in India also required a place to which it could send its criminals as an alternative to incurring excessive expenditure by keeping them in its jails. Some of the criminals were therefore sent to the Straits Settlements — as Singapore, Penang and Malacca were then known collectively — to work on public constructions. This immigration continued for a few decades after which it was stopped mainly due to the outcry from local inhabitants who did not wish Singapore to be stigmatised as a criminal colony. Many of those thus deported died due to appalling conditions of living and work, but enough survived to form the basis of a Tamil community in Singapore.

A far greater impetus to Tamil immigration was given in the 1920's when rubber was introduced into the Malay Peninsula. The spectacular success of the extremely lucrative natural product, necessitated the usage of organised labour. Since this was scarce in Malaya, assisted immigration from South India was resorted to, and thousands of Tamils arrived in the country. Although this immigration was only to the Malay Peninsula proper, as there were few rubber estates in Singapore, yet the spillover from this immigration and the necessity to have ancillary services like packing, shipping and cargo handling brought to the Settlement Tamils in large numbers. Since the Second World War however, immigration has been mainly those of professionals and clerical officers necessary to man the government services and the very large British naval base on the island. Immigration controls have, however, been gradually introduced till as from 1965 there has been virtually no immigration from India or Ceylon.

The Second World War produced a significant change in the history of the Tamil community in Singapore as it did in the histories of all South East Asian Nations. For the first time the West suffered an ignominious and complete

defeat in the hands of an Eastern country, Japan. This destroyed the myth of the superiority of the British master. But of even greater significance in the life of the Tamils was the spirit of nationalism stirred up by Subhas Chandra Bose and his Indian National Army. For the first time, an immigrant community, sundered of its connections with its motherland and quite ignorant of the political turbulance there, found a spirit of nationalism and political fervour taking shape within itself. Doubtless it was India-oriented yet this was a good start which presented great possibilities for the future. The return of the British in 1945 brought the old colonial system back, but the country was no longer the same. Sparks of nationalistic feeling had been set alight, a feeling that demanded changes at fundamental levels.

One of the earliest expressions of a community of thinking was aroused by the trials of many Indians on charges of consorting with the Japanese during the war. Most of these had been members of the Indian National Army, and to the Indians heroes of a war of independence. The nationalist Indian government sent a group of expert Indian lawyers to defend these persons in court and managed to obtain the release of most of them. This probably was the first time that the Indians in Singapore acted as a community against their British rulers.

The trials and eventual executions of Ganesan, the leader of the Communists in Singapore, and of his lieutenant Veeranesan also captured the imagination of the Indian community. The Malayan Communist party, an offshoot of the Malayan Peoples Anti-Japanese Association, had been supported and encouraged by the British in their efforts to break Japanese rule in the Peninsula. However, when civil government returned after the war, the Communists continued to be active in their attempt to capture control of the people and the government took the step of banning the Malayan Communist Party and in 1948, declaring a state of emergency all over Malaya. To the Indians however, it seemed to be the usual British strategy of divide and rule, and when the two Indians were executed on charges of carrying banned weapons, the Indian community protested very strongly. However, no violence was resorted to.

The war brought in its wake an unprecedented interest in political activity among Malayans of all races, and a number of political parties were formed to debate various issues and act as pressure groups. It is significant that Indians took on a large share of the leadership of these parties and helped to bring political sophistication to the people. These Indians were generally western-educated types who had been nurtured under the liberal systems of the West. The earliest of these political parties was the Malayan Democratic Union formed in Singapore during the last few months of the war by a group of young educated men, of whom Sharma was prominent. Many of the members of this party

subscribed to the Communist ideology and they fostered violent debates on the burning issues of the day. However, with the declaration of the Emergency in 1948, this party, forced to curtail its activities, went into oblivion. Another party formed shortly after the war was the Progressive Party. N.A. Mallal and A.P. Rajah were active leaders of the party during its long and chequered history. This party was essentially liberal in its outlook, and perhaps because of this, the party never managed to retain control of the legislative body for long. A party of greater significance however, was the Labour Party. The leadership of this party was mainly Indian, P.M. Williams and M.P.D. Nair being two stalwarts in the party throughout its history. Unlike the other parties, however, the Labour Party had a strong base in the Trade Union movement the leadership of which was generally Indian.

The Tamil community, as a whole, was generally more involved in the operation of the democrative processes in Singapore than any other. Perhaps the reason may have been that the Tamils had more knowledge of, and belief in, the democratic processes as they had been operating in India and Ceylon for some time in the form of representative government. Thus in the 1951 elections the number of Indians and Ceylonese registered to vote was far in excess, proportionately, to the size of the population. Further, perhaps because of ignorance of the election machinary, many Chinese registered as voters, did not go to the polls. Thus, when the results of the elections were announced, it was found that Indians and Ceylonese formed a large majority of elected representatives in the legislative body. One of the important measures the party in power introduced was a mass registration of citizens. It was during this period that a large number of Tamils who had hitherto remained Indian or Ceylon citizens were registered as Singapore citizens.

The 1955 elections saw a Labour Party-dominated coalition in power. By this time however, the Indian control of the elections had waned somewhat, yet a respectable number of Indians and Ceylonese was returned. This was an indication that Indians and Ceylonese continued to have the support of an electorate comprising largely people of other racial groups. This labour-dominated coalition continued rather precariously till 1959 when at the next elections, a dynamic and well organised party, the Peoples' Action Party, came into power. This Party, under its able leader Lee Kuan Yew, entrenched in Singapore the concepts of multiracialism and multilingualism. It emphasised the development of the cultures and languages of all the constituent communities. It encouraged the teaching of vernaculars in schools, and under its three-language policy, Tamil education acquired a status and importance never known before. Because of the insistance on every child learning a second language preferably its mother

tongue, we find the situation in Singapore, where the children of English educated Tamil parents know their language quite well, while their parents can hardly write a few words in it. Thus 1959 marked a turning-point in Tamil education.

However, long before this, other forces had been released that introduced a sense of direction in the Tamil people of Singapore. The early 1950's witnessed a movement among the Tamils of Singapore that was to have far reaching consequences on their existence as a community. It was a renaissance that in its own modest way pervaded the fields of Tamil education, literature, music, and dance. Till the 1950's the social life of the Tamil-educated Tamils was largely disorganised and fissured. There was no community of thought or social action. A multiplicity of organisations existed to cater to their varying interests, social, cultural and religious and some of them were even reproductions of village clan organisations from India. In the early 1950's there arose in Singapore a strong movement for the unification of these organisations and a centralisation of their activities so that the community could find a unity of purpose and action. The person who gave leadership to this movement was K. Sarangapany, the editor of the largest Tamil daily, the *TamiL Murasu*. Under his organisation the Tamils Representative Council was formed as a consortium of about a hundred Tamil organisations, and for the first time the Tamils of Singapore stood somewhat united. This Council provided a platform for the expression of Tamil sentiments and problems, and in course of time became the major body for consultations and communications.

Of far greater significance, however, was a great revival in Tamil culture which began in the early fifties and continued till the end of the period under study. The Tamil community in Singapore till then was one lacking in an involvement in some of the more permanent aspects of its culture. The Tamil language was to Tamils merely an instrument of communication. They had no abiding interests in its literature. Apart from the incidental few they did not subscribe to the cultivation of the fine arts of music and dance. They thus remained a community almost totally lacking in an awareness of classical traditions.

Sarangapany was the person who changed much of this. Aided by a number of dedicated lieutenants, he attempted to place before the Tamils of Singapore a representation of their own cultural traditions. A series of Tamil festivals, the *TamiLar Tirunāḷ*, was organised in Singapore in which eminent literary personalities were invited from India, to bring to the knowledge of the Tamils the greatness of their literature, a literature they had failed to foster all these years. Dance, music and poetry-writing competitions were organised with a view to creating interest in these arts. Even sports competitions were organised

where fairly high standards of achievement were set.

The *TamiLar Tirunāḷ* captured the imagination of the Tamil public and they rallied strongly to support it. It proved so popular that it was carried over the Causeway into Malaya.

Apart from these festivals, regular literary music and dance classes were organised and run by the Council, some of them through its largest constituent body, the Tamil Reform Association. These classes proved to be quite popular and gradually saw the growth of an interested and appreciative group among the Tamils.

One of the most fruitful campaigns the Tamils engaged in during this period was the movement to establish an Indian Studies Department in the University of Malaya. The British government had accepted in principle that a department dealing with Indian Studies should be established in the University. It invited the Indian government to send an expert to study the situation and make recommendations. Their expert, Nilakanta Sastri, submitted the report which gave emphasis to Sanskritic studies and placed Tamil on a subsidiary level. This report came up for a great deal of opposition from the Tamils. It was inconceivable that Sanskrit should be the main language of an Indian Studies Department, in the University of an area where almost 80% of the Indians and Ceylonese were Tamil speakers and where Sanskrit played such a negligible part in life. Their leaders requested that Tamil should be the main language and stated that the community would provide the funds for the establishment of a Tamil Library. A very emotive campaign, termed aptly "*TamiL eṅkaḷ Uyir*" was begun by Sarangapany and his group and with a great show of linguistic fervour, the Tamil community rose to the occasion and donated a sum large enough to establish a library of ten thousand Tamil books. This immediately led to a change in the orientation of the proposed Indian Studies Department to one of Tamil Studies while Sanskrit was still retained at a subsidiary level. The department was established in the University of Malaya in Singapore but soon moved over to Kuala Lumpur when a seperate branch of the University was formed. This department was to play a vital role in Tamil research in course of time, for the first International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies took place in 1966 with the sponsorship and organisation of this department.

All these activities contributed to instiling among the Tamils of Singapore a community of thinking and an identity of purpose. While inculcating a greater pride in their way of life it also created a greater respect for the Tamils among other communities. Yet there was one problem from the outset for which a solution had to be found. This was the question of patriotism. The Tamils

had in the past been largely India-oriented. Their loyalty was towards India and they generally treated Singapore as a place to work in and earn before their eventual return to India. This was partly due to the fact that the concept of a Malayan loyalty and a Malayan citizenship was introduced only in 1948. Further more, the life of the Tamils in Singapore was largely insular in terms of social contact. Their associations were mainly with other Tamils and no attempt was made to understand the way of life of the other communities. If they spoke the Malay language it was purely for the purpose of getting along in a land where they were only 7% of the population. Their knowledge of this language was of a few hundred words strung together in ungrammatical and unattractive fashion. Their knowledge of even events of minor importance in Tamilnadu was greater than that of events of national importance in Singapore. Singapore and Malaya were to them "little Tamil States."

This fashion of thinking was quite excusable during the days of the British rāj when the question of colonies getting independence and developing a nationalism of their own had not arisen. Yet circumstances had changed rapidly after 1945. Self-government was the order of the day. Nationalism was fashioning loyalities and creating new nations. In Malaya and Singapore the other communities particularly the Malaya were becoming vociferous in their demand for self-government. The question of citizenship had acquired new importance. In fact, the Malayan Union, the first political organisation of the Peninsula proposed by the British, met with violent opposition from the Malays as it gave citizenship rights too freely to many immigrants whose stay in the country was short and whose loyalties were questionable. Now there arose a necessity to state one's loyalty in clear terms. The promulgation of new citizenship laws in 1948 gave citizenship rights to a fair number of Indians but little interest was shown by Indians in availing themselves of this opportunity to register themselves as citizens. Seeing this, a large-scale registration of citizens was attempted in the mid-1950's. The leaders of the Indians took a responsible view and urged every Tamil qualified for citizenship to avail himself of the opportunity without fail. They conducted a publicity campaign, in which they emphasised the advantages of taking up local citizenship. They were fairly successful in their attempts, for many Tamils, today registered as Singapore citizens, were registered during this period. It was thus that the Tamils became a legal part of their country of residence.

During this period, a large majority of Tamils doubtless accepted Singapore as their own home and carried out their functions as citizens. Yet there was a small minority of them who had thoughts of ultimately going back to their land of origin and worked towards this end. There were others who had not made

any move to acquire citizenship. These elements by and large worked to the detriment of trust and partnership on the part of the other communities.

However, loyalty and patriotism are intangibles which are difficult to assess and they take a long time to form. The attempt was made in the early 1950's to give the Tamils a legal footing in Singapore and that seems to be the main feature of the period under discussion. The period saw the evolution of a distinct identity of thought and a community of action among the Tamils. It gave a certain amount of unity and consequently, a better image to this immigrant group. The period ends with the establishment of responsible government and the introduction into Singapore of new forces of cohesion and of social change.

DISCUSSION

PROF. R.E. FRYCKENBERG (WISCONSIN) stated that while the paper on Contemporary Tamil Society had dealt with Tamils in other countries, it could also have included in its survey Tamil groups in India living outside of Tamil Nadu, in other States of India like Bengal and Maharastra. These were very interesting communities, and could be included in such surveys.

PROF. S. ARASARATNAM (MALAYA) emphasised the need to study Tamil society in these countries from the point of view of their integration with other communities. This was an important aspect since Tamil communities were rather conservative and tended in some countries to isolate themselves.

PROF. U.S. SCHWEINFURTH (HEIDELBERG) in a written communication observed that in the study of contemporary Tamil groups should also be included repatriation schemes (e.g. from Ceylon to India) which are a part of the geographical mobility of Tamil groups. The policy of repatriation, the actual implementation of the policy, the economic implications, were aspects in which geographers would be interested.

S.M. KAMALDEEN (Ceylon) stated that Nagūr Mira was a Muslim saint of South India, and that the data concerning his cult in the Carribean was most interesting.

SESSION VII

MODERN LITERATURE

R. E. ASHER

N. D. SUNDARAVADIVELU

V. M. GNANAPRAGASAM

HANS STRASSER

MODERN LITERATURE IN TAMIL

(Summary)

R. E. ASHER

Until quite recently the study of Tamil literature has meant the study of the poetry of early centuries, in particular the Caṅkam collections and the medieval *bhakti* poems. Modern literature has been relatively neglected. This is, of course, not a matter that should occasion surprise. The greatest contributions made by Tamil to world literature unquestionably belong to the first millenium of the recorded history of Tamil. Moreover, it is only during the past century that the world of scholarship has been made fully aware of the earliest stratum. It is but natural, therefore, that it should continue to attract the closest attention.

It is difficult to imagine that a Tamil writer of the future will produce anything to surpass — or even equal — the finest of the Caṅkam poems. But this is no reason to ignore the literature of today, any more than the lack of a contemporary Shakespeare is a reason to ignore the living English theatre. It seems appropriate, therefore, at this first International Tamil Conference to be held outside South Asia, to give some time to the examination of the nature and scope of modern Tamil literature and to suggest possible lines of study and research. This is not to suggest that nothing has so far been accomplished in this field. There are several useful books, mainly in Tamil, on the history of Tamil prose and a number of works on poetry in both Tamil and English — Bhārati being the most favoured twentieth-century writer in this respect. Some histories of literature published during the last decade devote a reasonable amount of space to modern literature. A small number of good doctoral dissertations on aspects of writing of this period have also been produced by students of the Universities of Madras and Malaya. The fact remains that much more needs to be done to make the Tamil literature of today better known outside TamiLakam. Monographs are needed on the development of different literary genres and on the work of a selected number of oustanding writers.

Modern literature throughout India owes much to the impact of the discovery of European literature, and Western influences can be found even in Tamil poetry, despite the length of the unbroken Tamil poetic tradition. The greatest debt, however, is to indigenous sources, that is to say to earlier classical

poetry and to folk literature. Indeed the first important Tamil poet of modern times, the Śaivite poet Rāmaliṅkar (1823-74), is entirely a product of the land where he was born. Studies of his life and work are available in English, though they do not rival in number those devoted to the national poet of the Tamil country, C. Subrahmaṇya Bhārati (1882-1921). Others, with the exception of the Christian poet, H.A. Kṛṣṇa Piḷḷai (1827-1900), seem to have been neglected. There are several among them who deserve to be better known outside South India. Obvious examples are BhāratidāsaN (Kanaka CuppurattiNam, 1891-1966), even though his occasional use of poetry as a vehicle for ideas on social reform may not be to everyone's taste, and Kavimaṇi (Tēcika ViNāyakam Piḷḷai). General studies are needed, too, of more recent experiments.

The bulk of modern Tamil writing, of course, is in prose. A more detailed account of the development of Tamil prose style than has hitherto been attempted is required. Many influences have been at work and at any given time there are numerous contradictory trends. Writing in prose expanded only after the arrival of European missionaries in South India, but the important models, namely the medieval commentaries on classical poetry, belong to a considerably earlier period. A very different influence in modern times is that exerted by journalism, which develops a new style partly because of the very nature of journalism and partly because much of Tamil newspaper writing is the result of translation from English. Contrasting tendencies are sometimes the result of the preference of some writers for a particularly formal, not to say archaic, style, where others have preferred something that more nearly approaches spoken language. Similarly, purism is opposed to sanskritisation.

As in almost any important literature of today, the dominant literary form is the novel, which in Tamil began less than a century ago with Samuel Vetanāyakam Piḷḷai's *Piratāpa Mutaliyār carittiram*, a curious and entertaining mixture of realism, fantasy and social comment that has proved inimitable. This was followed by B. R. Rajam Aiyar's picture of Brahmin home life in *Kamalāmpāḷ carittiram*, which simultaneously aimed to popularise the Vedānta. At the turn of the century, more strongly reformist tendencies were apparent in Madhaviah's novels, while S. M. Natesa Sastri was writing 'entertainments' rather than stories aimed at changing society. The early part of the twentieth century showed a preference for the sensational and for largely derivative detective novels, until the arrival on the scene of Kalki (R. Kṛṣṇamūrtti, 1899-1954), the outstanding historical novelist of Tamil. More recently one has seen the combination of the traditional interest in social problems with an attempt to popularise the ethical ideals of early Tamil poetry, a development exemplified by the work of M. VaradarājaN. The story of the Tamil novel is a fascinating one, worth recounting

in detail right up to the latest developments apparent in the experimental work of L. S. Rāmāmṛtam.

The history of the short story in Tamil is not as long as that of the novel, even though its beginnings have been sought in Beschi's eighteenth-century stories of *Paramārtta kuru*. A representative selection of stories by living writers is available in *The Plough and the Stars* (Asia Publishing House, 1963). An account of earlier developments and modern trends is still needed, and there is room for full-length studies of some of the more outstanding contributors to the genre, in particular PutumaipittaN (C. Viruttācalam, 1906-48).

The Tamil theatre has not reached the same heights as the novel and the short story. There is, however, no shortage of plays in both prose and verse, and there is a considerable variety of theme, treatment and style. Any account of Tamil dramatic literature must also take into consideration writing for the cinema.

Non-fictional prose in Tamil is equally worthy of study. Especially important are different trends in the art of public speaking, for these have a considerable influence on prose style in other spheres. Finally, it should not be forgotten that Tamil literature is not restricted to Tamil Nadu. There are parallel developments in Ceylon and Malaysia, though with certain significant differences.

To sum up : there is a vigorous modern literature in Tamil, with every literary form known in the West being practised. There are inevitably clear western influences, but the flavour of the best works is unmistakably Tamil.

POET BHĀRATI ON EDUCATION

N. D. SUNDARAVADIVELU

The concept of education is as old as language itself; and each age and generation has given it fresh meaning and significance. Yet, even today, we are often struck by the freshness and beauty, as well as the width and universality of the thoughts expressed down the ages.

The dual rôle of education is being stressed in our time; education is seen not only as the means to the development of the individual, but also the means by which the individual is developed to live in harmony with the society in which he is placed. The latent skills and talents of the individual are drawn out and developed, and his spiritual quality fostered, so that he may use those skills and talents as a useful citizen of society, and exercise his spirit in his relation with the men and women among whom he lives and moves and has his being. In other words, we are agreed that education is, and should be, the process both of individual development and social integration.

Wise men of all times and climes have therefore drawn particular attention to the values of education both individual and universal. Turning to our own Tamil Literature, one finds in *TirukkuRaḷ* — which is according to Dr. Albert Schweitzer, himself a great savant and humanist, the best ethical literature — the following couplet :

> All lands and towns are learner's own
> Why not till death learning go on ! [1]

Looking back to ancient Greece, we hear Aristotle making this statement :

> All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of empires depends on the education of youth,[2]

If there was one who meditated long and deeply on the governing of mankind, surely it was the Emperor Napoleon; here is his dictum :

> Public instruction should be the first object of the government.[3]

Quality and not merely quantity is the need of the hour today, as we seem

to hear most frequently, yet it is no new idea. That great French humanist Montaigne underlined its importance when he wrote:

> We should not ask who is the most learned, but who is the best learned.[4]

Returning to the sweet home of Tamil Literature, may I invite your attention to poem 183 of *PuRanāNūRu*, in which Āriyappaṭai Kaṭanta Neṭuñceliyan — a King of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty and a poet of the glorious Caṅkam age — underlines the value attached to education as follows :

> Amongst her own children who resemble each other by birth, the Mother is prone to love more the one who excels in education ;
> Among the children born in the self-same household, the king does not invite the one who is eldest but follows the path of the one who is the richest in wisdom.
> Among the fourfold divisions of Society, the most learned, though born in the lowest of the four divisions, is respected and followed even by one born in the highest.

Let us now turn our attention to *TirukkuRaḷ*. The 40 couplets in the four chapters on 'Learning', 'Non learning', 'Listening' and 'Possession of Wisdom' in the Tamil "Veda" *TirukkuRaḷ*, are both thought-provoking and universal. The very fact that so many couplets are devoted to the same topic, viewed from different angles and that these follow immediately after the chapter on the greatness of kingship are proofs positive of the great importance and value Tiruvaḷḷuvar attached to education. It is also most significant that these four chapters find their place in that part of *TirukkuRaḷ* which is concerned with Society and its well-being unlike the other two parts which relate to individual growth, and matrimonial bliss. The impact of these crisp and convincing thoughts on education in later literature could be the basis of an interesting and useful study ; but I propose to take only a few moments of your time to present a paper on this impact as seen in Bhārati.

I have chosen to speak about Bhārati on Education not only because he is near and dear to my heart, but because his thoughts were the source of inspiration and a great dynamic force behind the expansion of education in Tamil Nādu which we witnessed in the 50's and 60's of this century.

A commentator remarked that while Vaḷḷuvar is more classical and universal Bhārati is more topical and national. They are the products of their ages. In this paper let me briefly estimate the views of Bhārati — the national poet of

Tamil Nādu — to whom was given the benefit of study of the languages of not only Tamil and English, but also of Sanskrit and French. During his period of 'exile' at Putuccēri, then under French rule, many of his poems were written. He declares in an epistle in verse to the Rājah ot Eṭṭayāpuram :

> The great scholars of that fine and famous country France, and the sweet poets of the renowned English do admire and appreciate very much and translate my Tamil poems[5].

This fervent and inspired national poet devoted time and thought in expressing his views on education in all its aspects. The first significant reference to education which lies right in the middle of his famous poem on the 'Tamil Land' is as follows :

> The land of the Tamils is great because of its education ; (hence) this land is also the land of the birth of famous (Epic poet) KampaN ; it is this land that wafts the true fragrance of various good works, and of the arts and sciences all over the world[6].

KampaN, Bhārati implies, could have been born and flourished only in the Tamil land, because it was well manured by learning.

As one strolls through the garden of Bhārati's poems to enjoy their beauty and fragrance, the blossoms on education attract us because of the epithets themselves, both colourful and meaningful, that he attaches to them.

Here are some of them :

1. பன்னருங் கல்வி [7]	The ineffable education
2. தேர்ந்த கல்வி [8]	Erudite learning
3. (அ) பல்விதமாயின சாத்திரம் [9]	Varied arts & sciences
(ஆ) கல்வி பல [10]	
(இ) பல்கலை [11]	
(ஈ) பல கல்வி [12]	
(உ) பல் சாத்திரம் [13]	
(ஊ) ஆயிரம் சாத்திரம் [14]	
4. தேடு கல்வி [15]	Sought-after education
5. கல்விப் பெருங்கடல் [16]	The great ocean of Education
6. (அ) ஓது பற்பல நூல்வகை [17]	The very many books for study
(ஆ) சாத்திரங்கள் பலபல	

In distinct contrast to these sayings are his pungent epithets applied to education, as it was in his own time, for he saw only too clearly that all was

not well with education in Tamil Nādu.

1. மண்படு கல்வி [18]	Useless education
2. அற்பர் கல்வி [19]	Base education
3. பேடிக் கல்வி [20]	Servile education

Bhārati's passion for extensive learning is most inspiring. It is even more heartening to note that his passion for learning is to be found not merely in his poems but also in his short lived life. Both his poetical and prose works bear witness to his deep and continued concern for all aspects of the life of the Tamil people — social, economic, political and cultural. His interest in the Arts and Sciences, of History and Geography, of Religion and Philosophy are really astounding, and bear witness to the depth and width of his interests and to the unique vigour of his spirit.

Who can forget his command to the people of Tamil Nādu to fly in all the eight directions of the compass and bring in all the treasures of knowledge, and make it available in the Tamil Language[21] — and how remarkably relevant it is today ! If we do not do this, he warned, 'Tamil will die slowly'[22].

Bhārati was also an ardent advocate of mass education and his words proved an inspiration to us in the 50's and 60's when they were most relevent. He prophesies : "If only the floodgates of art and poetry are thrown open, even those who have fallen into the ditch of illiteracy, will arise enlightened and occupy places of authority"[23]. On the other hand, Bhārati, like Va*ḷḷ*uvar[24], also emphasises the value of education by condemning its opposite. The illiterate and uneducated are even called 'sinners — Pāvika*ḷ*'[25]. He makes it quite clear in his poem, 'The Drum,' that education is for all[26], irrespective of race, religion, caste or colour.

Learning is not the only goal that Bhārati has in mind. He makes the distinction between 'learning' and 'wisdom' quite clear because he considers wisdom much superior to learning[27] ; for, learning can be had by labour, while wisdom can only come by divine grace[28].

His advice to the children to study in the early morning hours is indeed traditional[29]. He wished them to do so in the belief that the mind is more alert and more receptive after sound sleep. He also advised them to live in line with their learning.

Bhārati's interest in women's education is also surprisingly modern and farsighted. He saw, as in a vision that women must participate in the upsurge towards freedom and development. His remarkable poems entitled 'Modern Woman' புதுமைப் பெண்[30] and 'Liberation of Women' பெண்கள் விடுதலைக் கும்மி[31] are typical examples of his deep concern and farsightedness with regard

to the expansion of women's education which we witness today. Fifty years ago he called on women to share in the search for knowledge by going all over the world and bring in such treasures[32].

The tragic poverty of his country wrung his heart, and he knew that this poverty was one of the greatest hurdles to be surmounted if education was truly to be universal. We know that even today the percentage of literacy in India as a whole is only 30 per cent and in his days it was very much lower. This provoked him to give his clarion-call to provide food before varied education is offered[33]. It is this that inspired and gave impetus to the unique Midday Meals Scheme in Tamil Nādu with which I had the privilege to be associated for many years from its inception.

The three most notable factors in Bhārati's concept of education are his patriotism, his worship of Kalaimakaḷ, the Goddess of learning and his demand that education be related to life.

The first of these can be exemplified by his tribute to Lokamānya Bālagaṅgādhara Tilak, the great Indian patriot, who inspired and preceded Mahatma Gandhi in the march to freedom. Bhārati's tribute to Tilak has been translated into English verse as follows :

He built a fortress strong,
Education its name ;
Around it dug a moat,
A stream of Thought.
He reared a temple too,
Clear speech its name,
And on it unfurled,
Our Freedom's Flag[34].

It is clear that he relates quite definitely education to love of the motherland and the need for clarity in thought and aim.

Bhārati's call to worship the Goddess of Learning has several new features. He departs from tradition and calls us into the modern world, as the following translation will show :

"O, people of our sweet Tamil Nādu, unite to worship this Goddess. It is not easy to worship Her in the appropriate way. It is not the traditional murmuring of Mantras, the offering of flowers, the piling up of manuscripts and sprinkling sandal-wood water on them that is proper today. Every home should be an expression of art ; every street should have its school, and such schools should be found in every village and town all over the country ; such villages or towns that are not desirous of education should be burnt and destroyed. This

is the way of winning the love of our Mother, the Goddess of Education, who washes away all evils[35]".

As we can easily see, he is vehement to the point of violence in his desire for the promotion of education all over Tamil Nādu.

The last and most vital issue that he raised over half a century ago is that of the value of a purely academic and theoretical education unrelated to life, an education suited only to forge 'tools for an alien rule'. This scathing attack on the English system of education, as it was in his time, is fully borne out in the Report of the Education Commission composed of both national and international authorities on education and presided over by Dr. D.S. Kothari, published in 1966. This Commission found that the present system of education, designed as it was to meet the needs of an impartial administration within the limitations set by a traditional society was inadequate to meet the needs of a modern democratic and socialistic society as envisaged in India. The Commission is as clear in its mind as Bhārati himself that what is needed is a revolution. This revolution starting with educational methods, and systems, planning and training will in turn set in motion, the much desired social, economic and cultural revolution[36]. It would seem therefore that the poetic and patriotic vision of Bhārati had already foreseen what was necessary for our land, half a century and more before we have been able to even begin to put his concept into operation.

The wisdom of the wise men of all times, fertilized by the conscience of humanity, has blossomed into the UNESCO. May we on this occasion pledge ourselves to further its objectives, namely —

> to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations, through education, science and culture.....
> by collaborating in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples .....
> by giving a fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture...
> by collaborating with member states....in the development of educational activities; .....by maintaining, increasing and diffusing knowledge;.....by conserving and protecting the world's inheritance of books and works of art.....
> by encouraging co-operation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity,

with a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the nations, as the above is in full consonance with the concept of universality deeply rooted in the literature and culture of the Tamil people.

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AN ANALYSIS OF SOME SELECT TAMIL JOURNALS

IN 1969

V. M. GNANAPRAGASAM

INTRODUCTION :

Verba volant, scripta manent. What is said flies away, what is written down remains. Weekly and monthly journals do not just fleet away like words nor do they remain long like classical books. They however share the qualities of both! The passing pleasure of the spoken words and the slow and sure influence of the written books.

The Tamil language, culture and literature which have a hoary past are enjoying a fast developing present and the present is the mother of the future. Such a present is, to a large extent, being shaped by the weeklies and monthlies. A serious student of Tamil cannot afford to ignore the way these journals are growing.

From the moral and religious point of view these magazines have a rôle to play. A Catholic scholar in theology has recently compared the news media in general and *Time* magazine in particular to "the pulpits of the twentieth century world". He says : "not only does *Time* mirror a particular culture but it pronounces on its values and sets its goals as well. Like a divine office chanted regularly each week, *Time* is sought for by the modern man in a hurry to give him comfort, meaning and inspiration in the events of his world. It remains an essential task for theologians to analyse these sermons and sacred songs critically". (Mathew Fox, O.P., The Meaning and Practice of Religion in Middle Class America : A Textual Study of Religion in Time Magazine : 1958, Introduction). The same could be said, *mutatis mutandis* of the Tamil magazines. Millions of minds, young and old, are being fed by these magazines, not only at home, or in the leisure period or during journeys, but also during class and office hours. Hence to analyse these magazines critically is a duty of parents and priests and leaders and teachers.

The small Tamil Research Centre in Loyola College, Madras, consisting of a few students and lecturers has been trying to do this duty and is now modestly presenting its findings to the IIIrd International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, held in Paris. For the analysis some popular maga-

zines have been selected : ANanta VikataN (A. V.), Kalki (Ki.), Kumutam (Km.), Kalkaṇṭu (Ku.), Tinamaṇi Katir (T.K.) among weeklies, and Kalaimakaḷ (K.M.), Tīpam (T.), Kalaik-Katir (K.K.), Mañcari (M.), Katā DasaN (K.D.), among monthlies. For practical purposes the analysis has been restricted to the short stories, the essays, the poems, the information titbits and jokes of 1969.

Short Stories

It is well known that the staple food of most of the magazines, particularly of the weeklies, is the short story. In 1969 Km. has published 232 short stories, A.V. 140, T.K. 134, Ki. 131, K.M. 88, K.D. 58, and M. 12.

These magazines vie with each other in encouraging the creation of short stories through competitions with substantial prizes. Km. known for its novel ideas presented a diamond ring to select authors of short stories like AkilaN, Mu. Va, Ki. Va. and others. Not only the creation but also the criticism of short stories has been more recently given an impetus in Ki, A.V., and K.D.

Some of the Salient Features.

The Themes :

The themes of these stories have been the perennial topics of love, inter-class marriage, social uplift etc. Themes relating to current topics are also to be found.

One such is Gandhism, 1968-69 being the year of Gandhi's birth centenary. We find 'Gandhi Rājyam' by JeyakāntaN in T.K. (3.1.69), 'Kaṅkal' by KastūriPañcu in Km. 'Yeṅkā Ahimsai Tōlvi Kantatō' by M.R. Ramasamy in K.D. (1.10.69) etc.

Another current and popular topic is the one of the lottery system. 'No. 000838 cīṭṭu Yeṅkē' by S. Vaithyanathan in Km. (3.2.69), 'NaN YeNNa Ceyyattum Colluṅkō' by JeyakāntaN in A.V. (19.1.69), 'Makkaḷukku Uṇarcci Tēvai' by K.V. MaṇicēkaraN in Ki (15.6. 69), 'Lakṣa Rūpāy' by AikkaN in Ki. (5.10.69) and other stories, generally treat of the evil effects of the lottery system.

Other current topics, though not special to 1969, but of quite contemporary interest are the Hindu-Muslim relationship — 'VeRi Naṭuvē' by S. Krishnamurthy in Ki. (31.8.69) —, and the failure of the government to implement its promises — 'Vivacāya-p-puratci' by P. Jeeva in K.D. (1.9.69).

It has been noticed that a few authors like Sujātā bring in themes of depth psychology ('Palam' in A.V.) or of modern science ('Rahavenium' in Km. 9.1.69). Natural psychological reactions are skilfully made use of by Tāmarai MaṇāḷaN

(in 'Cirippu' in A.V., 12.10.69), by Venkataraman (in 'Teiva TaricaNam', in A.V., Tīpāvaḷi malar) by Lama (in 'MatuviN Contappaṇam' in Km. 13.3.69) and by others.

Moral Values

Whiles it is refreshing to see a good many stories inculcating good moral values like kindness to fellow beings, obedience, sacrifice etc., it is sad to notice that suicide comes handy as a key to solve problems.

A doctor addicted to drink punishes himself by suicide ('Doctor Tūṅkukirar' by Śrīrangam NarasiṅkaN in A.V. 9.11.69). The wife commits suicide because her marital fidelity is suspected ('Unakku-k-kekiratā Uma' by Sivasaṅkari in A.V. 27.7.69). The mother takes poison because of the separation of her son ('AmmaviN Irubathu Rūpāy' by Lama in Km. 10.7.69). The disappointed lover takes an overdose of sleeping pills ('Kātal Illai Yeṅka Ninaitirkaḷ' by CitaN in Km. 16.1.69). The wife even after being forgiven for her moral lapse commits suicide ('Mannippu' by Rukmiṇi Pārtacārati in Ki. 8.6.69). An unmarried mother wreaks vengeance on a young man by drowning herself in a river ('Pali' by Lakshmi Subramaniyam in K.M., 1.12.69). A girl commits suicide to escape being forced to marry against her will a rich young man ('Muthi' by P. Jeeva in K.D. 1.9.69).

Belief in God

A special study was undertaken by a student to analyse these short stories from the viewpoint of belief in God or in the supernatural. This was the result :

	Total No.	Gen. Ref. to God	Theme around belief in God
A.V.	140	45	15
Ki.	131	37	17
T.K.	134	13	3
K.M.	88	18	7
Km.	232	9	1

'Kathavinmēl orukai' by S. Lakshmi Subramaniyam (in A.V. 2.3.69) centres round the idea that it is the hand of God that opens the door to existence. 'Skantha Sashti' by Śrī VatsaN (in Ki., 22.6.69) avows that it is MurukaN who saved a person from a bus accident. In 'Mountroad Michael' by JeyakāntaN (in T.K., 28.3.69) the anxious waiting of the chief character to know the will of the Lord is given prominence. 'TeivattiN Niyati' by V. PartipaN (in K.N., Aug. 69) tries to give an answer to the question why God ordains that the more perfect die young.

In the other stories where the belief in God is not connected with the theme, we find valuable religious ideas spread about here and there like : seeing God's image in a child, being generous with God in prayer and penance, appealing to God as witness, etc.

The Literary Aspect

Allowing for differences of opinion, the students feel that the majority of short stories do not have a theme, no unity of thought or emotion. The aim of some authors of short stories seems to be just to entertain and that to entertain a particular class of people who look for and are pleased with this or that description in detail. There are however a few authors whose stories transcend commercial interest and contain artistic themes with elevating outlook (as JeyakāntaN, Kastūripañcu, AkilaN etc.).

With regard to the language of short stories, the general public and the authors in particular are of the opinion that one should not pay attention to the kind of language, provided the story is told. Students of Tamil language cannot but be alarmed at the large proportion of foreign words used — English or Sanskrit. It is true that conversations of characters, to be made real and lively, must contain the language as it is spoken, mixed with foreign words. But it cannot be accepted that whole sentences in English should be written using Tamil characters (v.g., 'Honestly I lost touch. I will drop you. 'Sujātā' A.V. 29.6.69). Such stories can be read and enjoyed only by those who know English well. And by such wholesale import of foreign words and phrases the growth of Tamil vocabulary in modern branches of knowledge will be unduly retarded. The editor of *Kalkaṇṭu* is to be congratulated for his christening the characters in his detective stories with pure Tamil names.

Another feature of the language is that its sentence, in contrast to the complex and compound sentence of yesterday, has become simple, short, very short, even one-worded. This makes the style of authors like Sujātā catchy and gripping.

ESSAYS

The essays of 1969 present, to the artistic minded, a more pleasing picture than the short stories. They enjoy a good variety in their subject matter :

	Leaders	Industry	Science	Literature	Religion
Ki.	36	10	10	9	8
T.	11	5		22	

K.M.	20	2	5	1	
L.	49	2	43		12
K.D.				7	
K.K.			170		

The year 1969 has been marked by its great many essays on leaders like Gandhi, Aṇṇāturai and others. *Tīpam* specialises in its literary essays which include interviews with men of letters, criticisms on books, novels, poems, short stories etc. Ki. and A.V. publish more than other weeklies, essays, richly illustrated with photos, on religious festivals and sacred shrines. *Mañcari*, true to its name, treats of miscellaneous topics, the scientific topics leading the list.

However it is K.K. which is almost identical with science. A professor of science and some students of science have gone through the scientific articles of K.K. and have been struck by the variety of topics : space science, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, food and nutrition, health and hygiene etc. Such essays number about 170. In addition there is another section of lighter essays with bright pictures, meant to explain science to school children. 'Campu' is the author.

The Language

In general the magazines do not seem to be worried about the purity of language. Some authors seem to delight in using a good many Sanskrit words, particularly while translating or adapting articles from other languages as it happens in *Mañcari*. They forget that the Sanskrit words which were familiar to Tamil readers twenty years ago sound foreign to the modern generation.

The one exception is K.K. whose language is pleasingly pure without being pedantic. With short sentences adapted to modern readers its essays are consistent attempts to find new words and phrases for modern scientific and technical terms. Students and lecturers of science are quite pleased with and proud of the success of K.K. in this attempt. To give just an example :

Rectifier	tirutti
Oscillator	alaivi
Switching device	cāvi

(in N. Rajagopalan's article in July)

K.K. is thus, in the opinion of the aforesaid Professor of Science, doing pioneering work in rendering scientific discoveries in Tamil phraseology, and paving the way for the success of the introduction of the Tamil medium in science courses in the colleges.

Poetry

The magazines taken for analysis devote on the whole very little space for poetry, except in special numbers like the "Tīpāvaḷi Malar". The monthly K.D. published the greatest number of poems : 74. And the editor of the paper, KaṇṇatāsaN has written more than others.

His theme, as well as that of other poets who write frequently in his paper, like Amutapārati and GovindarājaN, is by and large, socialism. The sincere emotions they express on behalf of the poor, the abandoned and the downtrodden are truly poetic. KaṇṇatāsaN can make even a tattered piece of cloth speak of its past and present and declare movingly its resolve to hold on to a principle in future.

'Kōvaṇamāi ānapōtum
Kolkai yeNakkuṇṭu.' Sept. 69.

We must admire his skill to sing in ancient forms like *ammāNai* (Jan. 69), and make it attractive to modern ears. Not so praiseworthy is his habit of describing in detail the physical parts of the fair sex without lifting the mind to fairer visions.

Tīpam contains 23 poems. Among them the poems of the editor Na. Pārtacārati, Nāṇal and N. Piccamūrtti deserve mention. K.M. has contributed 16 poems. Jōti, TamiLaLakaN and Cōlai Iḷantirāyan have written more than once. The poems of TamiLaLakaN are known for their harmony between sound and sense (Kalai Nāṭakam, June; MiN Cuṭar, Tīpāvaḷi Malar).

The language of these poems is usually more elevated than that of the ordinary prose. We find, though rarely, English and even Hindi words being used for satirical purposes, for instance by the famous humorous melodist Kotta Maṅkalam Cuppu (A.V., Tīpāvaḷi Malar).

The form of these poems has been the accepted poetical form observing strict laws of prosody. Of late however the free verse has begun to be recognised. Once Km. (24.7.69) strangely asked four persons of standing to compose a Veṇpā verse with '*TamiLaraci ceyta tavam*' as the last line. Readers were surprised and pleased. The following issue contained two Veṇpā verses from readers, one praising Km. for publishing those poems, and the other pointing out a flaw in prosody in one of the four Veṇpās of the previous week. This incident shows that poems are still welcome and that the rules of prosody are still respected.

Informational Titbits

Today no one can deny the right of individuals to be well informed. And magazines serve as media of communicating information. Not one Tamil maga-

zine fails to give informational titbits. They differ only in the amount and kind of information given.

K.K., a small weekly magazine is almost filled with informational titbits. Here is the statistical data prepared by our students :

Informational titbits of K. K. in 1969

Total	Political	Natural Cure	General Advice	Adv. to Women	Cinema World
5,981	568	586	327	344	1,652

In an interview with the members of our Research Centre the editor TamiLvaṇṇaN, who is the sole writer in that paper for the past 22 years, expressed these candid ideas :

In our fast moving world people have no time to read long essays. They have given up the old habit of taking one full meal a day and have substituted it with frequent bites and drinks and sweets. Similarly, feeding the mind with systematic essays is being replaced by the reading of information, short and sweet. That is why K.K. gives so much of information. The goal it has in mind is to help people help themselves in looking after their physical health by the method of natural cure and native medicine and in looking after their mental health by the methods of psychology and common sense. But to make the readers go through these useful bits of information, it is necessary to throw in the bait of facts and figures about the political and cinema world.

The Cinema World :

The influence of cinema and everything connected with it, is, for good or for worse, on the increase. A Tamil journal cannot be popular nor increase its sale without titbits about the cinema world. Perhaps its popularity is in proportion to its cinema flavour.

Here are a few data about two popular magazines :

	Adv.	Criticism	Information
A.V.	25	24	76
T.K.	14	15	140

In offering criticism of films some papers have adopted the habit of presenting a symposium of opinion by people of different social levels. Giving the story of English films or their criticism has been more recently introduced (in T.K.). In the supply of information about the cinema world it is becoming

popular to hold interviews with cinema stars or those connected with the cine-field. In 1969 A.V. has published 31 and T.K. 43 of such interviews.

One of the editorial staff of Ki. plainly says that Ki. does not contain anything about the cinema world, except the advertisements, in order not to lower its standard.

JOKES

The last section in our analysis is jokes, which are often the first dish readers help themselves to as soon as they get the weeklies. For our study we have taken four weeklies to see the total number and the kind of jokes.

	Total	Husband and Wife	Play on Words	Pranks of Children	Doctor and Patient	Stealing	Cinema
A.V.	535	53	15	34	25	14	14
Ki.	229	37	15	9	3	2	14
Km.	481	43	14	14	17	8	11
T.K.	820	28	78	48	23	22	24

	In-laws	Debt	Water Scarcity	Lottery	Musical Concert	Hotel	Foreign Jokes
(A.V.)	10	13	18	8	14	9	3
(Ki.)	12	3	2		4	2	1
(Km.)	14	16	5	6	6	18	
(T.K.)	4	14	8	6	6	14	210

Some remarks :

In the jokes on husband and wife, the idea recurs that the cooking at home is the duty of the husband. Perhaps the equality of the sexes is being put to practice.

Play on words, and particularly giving Tamil meaning to English words, is on the increase, (*e.g.*, to write three wills according to the wish of the wife, daughter and son, a father draws the figure of three bows and dies).

A.V. generally publishes a joke on the front page, though of late this custom is being changed occasionally. The jokes of A.V. and Ki. are usually of a good standard.

T.K. offers the special dish of foreign jokes under the title of 'Akkarai-c-cirippu'. Most of them are without words and so at times difficult to under-

stand. It is none the less a praiseworthy custom to give the Tamil readers a chance to appreciate the humour of other countries.

Km. creates interest in its jokes by announcing competition in children's jokes (12.6.69), by publishing in one of the first pages the comical characters who are going to star in the joke (3.7.69), by giving titles to jokes in imitation of ancient poetical lines (17.7.69) or in newly coined rhymes (3.7.69 ; 7.8.69), by appending to every joke a jovial remark of a cinema star (24.7.69). And the interest of the reader in these jokes can be seen from their letters to the editor (26.6.69 ; 2.10.69). It must be remarked however that some of the jokes of Km. are lacking in delicacy.

Conclusion

This simple analysis of some select Tamil magazines is far from being deep or exhaustive. We have not analysed all the sections in the magazines. We have not gone into the history, the goal or aim of each magazine. We have not studied the biography of the man or the men behind each magazine. We have not watched and weighed the reactions of the general public. We have tried to make our students aware of the trends in these magazines and to make them judge, not simply swallow, whatever is given in the magazines.

In spite of the inadequacy of our analysis it is clear that the publishers and writers of these magazines are playing an important rôle in Tamil society. It is true that they are being shaped by the non-Tamil world. But they are mostly at the potter's wheel shaping the Tamil language and culture.

The language is becoming more simple and forceful in their short stories; more apt for scientific expressions in their essays, and more ready to sing highly in free verse. We wish that it be relieved of the undue weight of foreign words.

The publishers and writers are also shaping today's Tamil culture. Through cover pictures and inside illustrations and advertisement they are directing the fashion in dress. Through their characters in short stories they are turning our vision towards ideals of love, sacrifice and respect. Through their essays on great leaders like Gandhi and Aṇṇāturai they are showing us the concrete way those ideals can be put into practice. Through their informational titbits they are helping to form our present day knowledge, and knowledge is power. We wish that in the selection of information about individuals, a certain concern be had of the mystery and sacredness of the human person. Through their jokes they are soothing heavy hearts and sowing seeds of joy in this valley of tears.

But the danger remains that these publishers and writers may forget their mission as preachers and prophets, in their effort to become popular and increase

sales. In becoming only popular they may entertain the majority but may infuriate a minority which thinks and judges.

This thinking and judging minority, it is heartening to note, is being fostered by the less popular magazines which have a serious purpose. And associations like the Ilakkiya CintaNai are making the public aware of the standard of the short stories as they appear every month.

In this context we may hope that the Tamil weeklies and monthlies will help to develop Tamil along lines worthy of its glorious past and to elevate the Tamil mind and heart to the good, the true, and the beautiful.

SESSION VIII

CONCLUDING SESSION

CONCLUDING SESSION

SUMMARY

The concluding session was presided over by PROF. X.S. THANI NAYAGAM (Ceylon), who said that the first item of the agenda was a very pleasant one, since he was requesting the conference to pass by acclamation a resolution recommending to the French National Commission to place before Unesco at its forthcoming session in the Autumn of 1971, a resolution supporting the proposal of the National Commission of Unesco of India to found an Institute of Tamil Studies in Madras. The resolution was carried by acclamation, after which the Chairman thanked Mr. A. Subbiah, whose initiative, vision and perseverance had been entirely responsible for making the project of an International Institute of Tamil Studies a reality.

DR. N. BAMMATE, Director of Unesco Division of Humanities and Culture, then addressed the session. He outlined the circumstances in which the idea of an International Institute of Tamil Studies had been conceived, and what support had been given by Unesco. He hoped that there would be all round support from the member states and that with the collaboration of scholars from all over the world the Institute would be a great success.

REV. Y. FRYKHOLM, (Sweden) announced that he had nearly completed his translation of *TirukkuRaḷ* into Swedish, and was looking for a publisher. He thanked the organisers of the Conference for making it such a great success.

MR. KARUTIRUMAN, (India) said that it was a pity that members of the Indian Delegation had been informed at very short notice that they had been chosen by the Tamil Nadu government to attend the Paris Conference. The Conference organisers should have been informed much earlier. Because of the late information which was no fault of the organisers, the members of the Indian delegation were not able to present papers at the Conference.

He exhorted the Conference to encourage participants to study the works of KampaN and to discuss KampaN's poetry at the Conferences.

JUSTICE S. MAHARAJAN, (India) said that there seemed to be a conspiracy of silence concerning the poet KampaN, and that there should be at these conferences a whole session devoted to KampaN. The chairman replied that KampaN had been discussed at previous conferences, and would also be discussed at the Fourth Conference which would be held in the Laṅka of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

MR. S.M. KAMALDEEN, (Ceylon) said they in Ceylon were very happy about the Fourth Conference being held in Ceylon, and he as an Officer of the Public Library, Colombo, would be happy to furnish any information they required concerning Ceylon.

JUSTICE H.W. TAMBIAH, (Ceylon and Sierra Leone) extended a warm welcome on behalf of the Ceylon National Unit of the IATR to the Fourth Conference, and thanked Prof. Filliozat for the organisation of this Conference.

PROFESSOR H. BECHERT, (W. Germany) stated on behalf of his German colleagues that it would be more convenient for them if the Ceylon Conference could be held in February 1973, and not January, since their universities would still be in session in January. The Chairman replied that it would be difficult to find a month equally convenient to all prospective participants, but that they would do everything possible to hold the sessions at a time most convenient to the guests as well as the hosts.

DR. SRINIVASAN, (W. Germany) stated the difficulties they encountered in obtaining Tamil books from India and he wondered if the Madras office of the IATR would use their good offices to procure for foreigners books and periodicles. MR. A. SUBBIAH (India) replied that the Madras office would be happy to be of service to scholars.

PROF. THANI NAYAGAM remarked that the Management would be very thankful if Conference participants could promote the *Journal of Tamil Studies* which was being printed at great expense, and for the success of which PROF. V.I. SUBRAMONIAM had organised an efficient secretariat.

YOGI RAMIAH, (U.S.A.) suggested that the IATR should undertake serious studies of Tamil speaking peoples, and should also do research into Tamils and Tamil cultural influences in South East Asia.

After a number of other observations and suggestions had been made, PROF. THANI NAYAGAM stated that it was his duty and privilege to thank all the organisations and individuals which had collaborated in making the Third Conference such a success. He thanked Unesco and Dr. Malcohn Adiseshiah, and Cipsh, Professor Filliozat and the members of his office, the EFEO, Madame Ortoli and Mlle. Raison, the Collège de France, and his two colleagues, Joint-Secretaries General, Dr. Asher and Prof. Zvelebil, who had helped Prof. Filliozat.

The Chairman had a sad duty to perform, namely, to commemorate two colleagues who had passed away, Mr. S. Tittelbach and Doctor Rama Subbiah. Mr. Tittelbach had been a member of the IATR from its inception, and Dr. Rama Subbiah was a Section Secretary at the KualaLumpur Conference and had organized an Exhibition for that Conference. Dr. Rama Subbiah was Acting Head of the Department of Indian Studies of the University of Malaya, when

he died in tragic circumstances.

The Conference observed a minute's silence in commemoration of the two scholars.

Prof. Thani Nayagam announced that an Executive Committee had been nominated to form part of the Governing Body consisting of the following :-

Dr. Asko Parpola	Denmark
Prof. Alessandro Bausani	Italy
Prof. K. L. Janert	West Germany
Prof. Jean Benoist	Canada
Prof. R. E. Frykenberg	U.S.A.
Prof. Siegfried Lienhard	Sweden
Prof. Karl A. Keller	Switzerland
Prof. S. Arasaratnam	Malaysia
Mr. Noboru Karashima	Japan
Dr. M. Andronov	U.S.S.R.
Prof. Arno Lehmann	East Germany
Dr. Brenda E. F. Beck	Canada
Prof. Juan R. Francisco	Phillipines
Dr. J. R. Marr	U.K.
Dr. Su Chung Jen	Hong Kong
Dr. S. Vithiananthan	Ceylon
Dr. K. Kailasapathy	Ceylon

Places were reserved for scholars from countries not included in the above list.

Prof. Thani Nayagam finally said that he would like to recall the close ties which had existed between France and the Tamil-speaking countries, and the contribution made by French nationals to Tamil scholarship and Education.

He hoped to meet all the participants once in Ceylon in 1973.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

AN EXPRESSION OF THANKS

BY

DR. M. S. ADISESHIAH
ACTING DIRECTOR GENERAL
UNESCO
AT THE
CONCLUSION OF THE DANCE PERFORMANCE
BY
MISS ANANDAVALLI (CEYLON)
AND
MISS PADMA SUBRAHMANYAM (INDIA)
AT UNESCO HOUSE
PARIS, ON JULY 16, 1970

Selvi Anandavalli
Selvi Padma
M. le Président
Your Excellencies
Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have come here tonight from over one hundred countries. You, at the Third International Tamil Conference, have come from 37 countries, representing many different cultures, religions, societies and communities. But for a moment we have been one. We have been united by the two great creative artists who have brought us together tonight to share with them an expression of the long history of Tamil dance and Tamil culture.

They have brought us an evening of love and friendship. We have shared their compassion for the poor, their defence and love of the down-trodden. We have been one with them in their fury and anger at evil in all its forms on earth. We have shared with them the strength of the elephant, the energy of the bee. We have lived with Avvaiyar picking mulberries two thousand years ago. Some so hot they had to be blown upon before they could be eaten, some cool and refreshing as they fell straight from the tree into one's hand.

For a moment, thanks to the genius of Tamil which these artists represent,

we all lived as one. You, in the Conference, have been discussing the mystery of the Indus script, and trying to decipher the relationship between the not-so-old Sanskrit and the very old Tamil. You have been looking at epigraphs and monuments to see what new elements they can add to enrich your already profound knowledge of Tamil, its history and culture.

We for our part, here in Unesco, are engaged every day as Unescans, in the search for a richer meaning of culture, seeking to promote a better understanding of the diversities of culture in the world and the fundamental unity of all cultures elaborated by man, his mind and spirit. All that you have been struggling with during the past two days, and will be discussing in the next two days, and all that we in Unesco are researching and working on has been concretized tonight by these two great geniuses of Tamil dance.

For several years, Mr. President, the Member States of Unesco have recognized the world-wide importance of Tamil studies and have sought concrete ways to be associated with your work within a wider framework of international scholarly co-operation.

The General Conference of Unesco at its last session in November 1968 adopted a resolution which underlined the contribution of Tamil studies to cultural co-operation and Oriental scholarship, and authorized the Director-General of Unesco to assist India and other interested Member States in the creation of an International Institute of Tamil Studies in Madras, India.

The Member States of Unesco agreed to provide the financial assistance to make it possible for the Third International Tamil Conference to be held in Paris, and to enable participants to come from far-away Malaysia, Ceylon, India and other countries of Asia and other continents. Our specialists in Unesco, led by Richard Hoggart, Assistant Director General (Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture), have provided counsel and technical advice, and helped, at the international level, to enlist the co-operation of Member States and universities interested in Tamil studies.

And tonight, the Unesco Staff Association representing the one thousand six hundred men and women, drawn from more than 125 countries but belonging only to Unesco, have organized this moment of spiritual and intellectual and cultural unity as our contribution to the Third International Conference on Tamil Studies.

And so, my dear Anandavalli, you have, by your dancing tonight, lighted in our hearts some of that divine fire of Tamil culture which goes back continuously over two thousand years. We know that Anandavalli comes from a family of great Ceylonese artists — Tamil artists — and that she is carrying on the ancient heritage of this family with all the spirit and originality of her youth.

And you, Kumari Padma, who come from another great artist family in Tamil Nadu, have brought us not only the grace and beauty of a great dancer but the manifestation of your deep Tamil scholarship. For it may not be generally known that you are a Tamil scholar and historian, and that you are soon to become the world's first Doctor of Philosophy of Bharatanāṭyam — Tamil dance, song and drama.

In thanking you both, in expressing to you the profound thanks of Unesco, its Member States and Secretariat members represented here and of the participants to the great Tamil Congress represented here, I want to thank all those behind you. We heard from those who introduced you the long list of illustrious masters, teachers who inspired you and in thanking you for your performance we thank them. We thank Ceylon for giving us Anandavalli. We thank Tamil Nadu for giving us Padma.

And so, I say for all of us,
Selvi Anandavalli Vazhga,
Selvi Padma Vazhga,
Tamizh, Sendtamizh Vazhga.

APPENDIX II

RECEPTION TO TAMIL NADU DELEGATION

to the Third International Tamil Conference
at Unesco House, Paris, 15 July 1970

Welcoming the Delegation from Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry, at a dinner reception on 15 July in the presence of the President and Secretaries of the International Association of Tamil Research and senior Unesco staff, the Acting Director-General welcomed all present to Unesco House which is the house of the Member States and the great cultural specialists of the world.

He called attention to the close links between Unesco and Tamil Nadu that have been forged over the years through the Indian National Commission for Unesco. First, the only state Unesco committee in India was formed as the Unesco Tamil Nadu Committee in 1966 when Mr. Bakthavachalam was Minister of Education and continues actively with the present Minister, Mr. Nedunchezhiyan as chairman of the committee. That Committee organises an extensive programme of Unesco activities in Tamil Nadu.

Secondly, for over 15 years Unesco has assisted the Southern Languages Book Trust in producing children's books in science and world history and in training booksellers and distributors for the various states in southern India.

Thirdly, Unesco has made available over $ 15,000 worth of special paper to the Tamil Academy directed by Mr. Avanasalingam for the production of the children's Tamil encyclopaedia. This encyclopaedia which contains naturally a great number of illustrations needs the kind of special paper not available in the country.

Fourthly, the great Unesco journal, "Courrier", is produced in Tamil with regularity and precision every month by the Southern Languages Book Trust on a grant from Unesco and governments of India and Tamil Nadu.

Fifthly, the Unesco programme for the renovation of temples is under way with a view to developing temples as centres of cultural tourism and international understanding. For each temple a Unesco mission advises on modern renovation techniques, provides $ 12,000 worth of equipment and publishes a pamphlet in English and French on the temple. Such work has been completed for Srirangam and is under way in Rameswaram. The next temple will be in Kanchi. The target is ten temples in ten years.

Sixthly, Unesco makes available expert engineering assistance to the University of Madras and the affiliated Colleges. Professors of architecture and engineering have been provided to the Guindy Engineering College, the Madras Institute of Technology and the Alagappa Institute of Technology in Madras.

Seventhly, assistance is being given through Unicef in the introduction of modern science teaching in the primary and secondary schools of the State.

Eighthly, the long standing request for an offset printing press to the Ministry of Education to implement its programme of text book supplies to the schools has been presented to the Australian Government, which has agreed to consider favourably this request which should now be followed up by the State and Union governments.

Ninthly, a design for liquidating illiteracy among the ten million adult illiterates in Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry has been established jointly by Unesco and the adult education agencies in the two states. Unesco stands ready to implement its share of this literacy design and it is a matter of satisfaction that the Chief Minister has decided to start this programme in Thanjavur district and that the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras has made it a part of the extra-curricula activities of the University.

Finally, arising out of the Second International Conference in Madras, Unesco has decided to help in the establishment of the International Institute of Tamil studies in Madras. This Institute, whose statutes and programme are being drawn up at the Third Conference, will be an important source for the further development of Tamil studies all over the world and Unesco's help to it over a six year period was reaffirmed.

The Acting Director-General pointed out that today was an important day for Tamil. It was being spoken and discussed in France which is the focus of European culture, in Paris the city of light and in the Collège de France with its great historic and humanist tradition. Today was also the occasion when a Director-General of Unesco addressed a Conference for the first time in a non-European language.

APPENDIX III

NOTES ON SWEDISH TRANSLATION OF TIRUKKURAL

YNGVE FRYKHOLM

I take pride and pleasure in announcing to the fellow-delegates of the Third International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies that a Swedish translation of the *TirukkuRaḷ* is now ready for print.

My fascination for this great Tamil classic was first aroused when, as a missionary student of Tamil in Dindigul, South India, I had the good fortune to find a language teacher of uncommon excellence and enthusiasm. Hence, it was Pulavar K. Guruswamy who opened up to me some of the marvellous treasures of Tamil literature and who inspired me to prepare for and pass the Pulavar Entrance Test of Annamalai University in 1952. Thanks to the ground-work laid by this teacher, I was able to keep up, though with all too long and frequent interruptions, a certain measure of self-sustained Tamil study, even when otherwise occupied after my return to Sweden in 1958.

At the First International Tamil Conference at Kuala Lumpur (1966), I was urged by some good scholars and friends to undertake the translation of *TirukkuRaḷ* into Swedish. Although at times I have been discouraged by the thought that this work is already available to Scandinavian scholars through the existing translations in English, French, and German, etc., the fact still remains that to my knowledge no direct translation of any Tamil classic has so far been made into any Scandinavian language*. It may, therefore, be worth the attempt to see whether a Swedish rendering of the *TirukkuRaḷ* might help to stimulate a deeper knowledge of and interest in Tamil literature among somewhat wider circles of the Swedish and Scandinavian reading public.

I had first hoped to complete the translation work in time for the Second International Tamil Conference in Madras, 1968, but due to lack of time and adequate facilities, the finished type-script by that time contained only Chapt. 1-63.

During the same period, I was requested by Professor Stig Wikander of

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*However, how far from "translations" are the Swedish renderings of some poems from *PuRanāNūRu* or *PuRapporuḷveṇpāmālai* etc., and the complete version of *TirumurukāRRupaṭai* which one finds in Johannes Sandegren's *Om Sydindiens Rövarekaster och deras religiösa värld*, Stockholm [1924], though indebted to *Siddhānta Dīpikā ?* (*Editor's note*)

the Dept. of Indology at the University of Uppsala, to contribute to a Swedish anthology of Oriental Literature including selections from some representative Tamil works and also some modern prose. This anthology appeared recently under the title "Litteraturens Klassiker 16 — Orientalisk Diktning", Almqwist & Wiksell, Stockholm 1970, containing among others — in the words of the Preface — "the first direct translations from Tamil and Tibetan literature hitherto published in Sweden". The Tamil selections were taken from the *TirukkuRaḷ* (Chapters 7,8,9,41 and 49), *Cilappatikāram* (chapt. 1), *Kaliṅkattupparaṇi* (chapt. 2 & 3) and a short story by P.S. Ramayyah.

On account of these and other labours, the completion of my Swedish rendering of the *TirukkuRaḷ* was further delayed but is now at long last available in typescript. However, it remains to be seen how soon and how willingly a Swedish publisher will come forward to print the work.

If and when published, it will have to be assumed that the Swedish translation will appear without the parallell text of the Tamil original. The number of Swedish readers likely to make use of such a Tamil text is presumably far too limited to warrant the additional cost and labour involved in such an arrangement. The existing English translations with accompanying Tamil text are fully adequate for scholars searching for word-by-word interpretations.

For similar reasons, it is doubtful whether any Swedish publisher will want me to add any comments or foot-notes to the text, except possibly as an appendix limited to bare essentials. Although I have at times made fairly detailed notes on points where the Lexicon and commentaries, as well as elementary grammar rules, do not provide obvious answers or unanimous interpretations, I have some doubts whether these can be included at the present stage.

Regarding literary style and modes of expression, I have, of course, encountered the perpetual problem whether to attempt a feeble imitation of the epigrammatic style of the original, or whether to ensure that *all* nuances of word and thought of Tiruvaḷḷuvar's text are more or less adequately covered by the translation. In the former case, the Swedish language proves itself just as limited as most other Western languages when attempting to compress "seven oceans of wisdom into one mustard seed", with the result that an epigrammatic rendering of Tiruvaḷḷuvar's thoughts tends to become cryptic, if not meaningless. In the latter case, one has to guard against the risk — all too apparent in some existing translations — of losing oneself in rambling paraphrases, influenced or misled, as the case may be, by later Tamil commentaries, some of whose explanations do not *always* strike me as either necessary or entirely relevant. In this manner, even more of the unique style and flavour of the original may be lost in the process. To the best of my ability, the Swedish rendering has tried to steer

clear of these opposite extremes, though most probably with very limited success.

In the Scandinavian literature of ancient times, there is a rich tradition of proverbs and aphorisms expressed in the curt and quaint epigrammatic style of the Icelandic Havamal, in which alliteration is used instead of the much later end-rhymes. Even in such rare cases where the Swedish translation of certain *KuRaḷs* could be rendered by some form of alliteration (for example : "Främst bland de främsta är den som främjar fränders frälsning" — *KuRaḷ*-1026), I have resisted the temptation, as this would surely create a wrong association of ideas in the minds of Scandinavian readers. The style would appear to them ancient Nordic, while the content is related to an entirely different culture area.

Apart from the superhuman difficulty, I have also desisted from any attempt to present the Swedish rendering in any traditional Western style of metre and rythm etc. The more I compare existing translations, the more have I been impressed by G. U. Pope's poetic rendering in English which would still seem to rank as a fantastic achievement in its class and category. But I am not sure whether a similar attempt — if at all possible — would not dilute rather than bring out the unique flavour of the original to the present generation of Western readers.

There is the minor problem, relevant mainly to Scandinavians, whether to present the Swedish version in the modern style, in which the plural verb endings have been abandoned even in poetic and literary usage during the recent thirty years, or whether to attempt a slightly more archaic style, in view of the great age of the original text. With some doubt and hesitation, I have opted for the latter alternative by maintaining the plural verb-forms ("*ä*ro, skola, hava" etc. — instead of "är, skall, har"). This is, however, a matter of literary judgment, in which I am prepared to be overruled by the eventual publisher or his literary adviser, if any.

In the sections of the *TirukkuRaḷ* dealing with mundane matters such as Wealth, Politics, Statesmanship, Medicine, Gambling, and other such wordly affairs, I have tried to maintain a reasonably spare and straightforward Swedish prose style, roughly corresponding to the matter-of-fact crispness of Tiruvaḷ-ḷuvar's inimitable technique. However, in the Kāmattuppāl and in certain other sections, such as those dealing with children, love and family life, I may have been carried away by the tender emotions expressed with such astonishing beauty and charm by the great sage of Mylapore, resulting in a somewhat more poetic and rythmically measured rendering. This may not be very far different from the more informal, un-rhymed style of Swedish poetry in its present-day form.

Spànga, Sweden, July 9th, 1970

APPENDIX IV

IATR GENERAL BODY MEETING

The second meeting of the General Body was held in the Conference Hall of the Collège de France, Paris on July 18, 1970 at 4.30 p.m. A large number of members was present. Professor Jean Filliozat presided.

Terminal Report

1. Professor X.S. Thani Nayagam, made a statement concerning the activities of the I.A.T.R. since the meeting of January 7, 1968, and thanked Prof. Filliozat for the organization of the Paris Conference. Professor Thani Nayagam stated that though the Association had no adequate finances, it had been able to build a wide fellowship among scholars all round the world. He also stated that the *Journal of Tamil Studies* published by the Association was making satisfactory progress under the direction of Professor V. I. Subramoniam. The General Body then passed unanimously the following resolution :

The Third International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, which met at the Collège de France, Paris, from 15 to 18 July 1970,

Having been informed of the resolutions 3.01 and 3.321 which the General Conference of Unesco adopted at its fifteenth session (Paris, October-November 1968) and of the preliminary action taken by Unesco and its Member-States in pursuance of those resolutions, with a view to helping establish the International Institute of Tamil Studies, in Madras in 1971 ;

Having examined the draft constitution and the draft programme and budget of the Institute for the period 1971-1972 and expressed its views and suggestions thereupon, as presented in the annexed report :

Believes that continued action and support of Unesco and its Member States is indispensable to the establishment and development of the Institute and that, for this purpose, a resolution along the lines suggested in the paper attached hereto should be passed at the forthcoming sixteenth session of the General Conference of Unesco (Paris, October-November 1970) ;

Invites Member States of Unesco to endorse the resolution at the General Conference.

DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR THE SIXTEENTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

The General Conference,

Recalling Resolutions 3.01 and 3.321 of its fifteenth session on the International Institute of Tamil Studies,

Having received the report on the plans and programmes for the International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras, as proposed by the International Association of Tamil Research and supported by Member States,

Invites Member States and National Commissions to co-operate with the host country and the governing body of the Institute in its establishments and running,

Authorizes the Director-General to assist the development and programme of the Institute using provisions under paragraphs 954 and 979 of the Programme and Budget for 1971-1972 and further assist in developing a long-term programme of co-operation in accordance with the principles set forth in document 16 C/4.

* * *

Justification

The Third International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies (Paris, July 1970) adopted the following resolution and approved the report annexed thereto.

2. *Statement of Accounts.* Mr. A. Subbiah (Treasurer) then presented a statement of audited accounts for the two years ended 31st December 1969. These were passed.

3. *Election of Office-Bearers.* Professor Filliozat, who spoke concerning the election of office-bearers stated that office-bearers had held office for two terms, and it would be desirable to have a new set of office-bearers. As for himself, he did not wish to appropriate for himself or for this country the post of Chairman of such a successful international body. Other office-bearers were also

of the view that there should be a change.

Rev. Y. Frykholm then stated that for several reasons, including the implementation of the proposals for an Institute of Tamil Studies, it would be desirable that the same office-bearers continued for another term. Several members supported Rev. Frykholm's proposal, and Prof. Filliozat accepted on behalf of all the office-bearers to serve another term. Prof. Thani Nayagam stated that by 1973 the same scholars would have had to work for ten years, and it should hence be placed on record, that at the General Body Meeting of the Fourth Conference, the present Office-bearers would not be requested to continue. With regard to the inclusion of younger scholars in the Executive Body, it was decided to form an Executive Committee which would be an integral part of the Governing Body. This Governing Body would be international and representative in character.

4. *International Institute of Tamil Studies*. It was unanimously resolved that the following members be appointed as representatives of the I.A.T.R. on the International Institute of Tamil Studies :

(a) Prof. J. Filliozat as Vice-Chairman

(b) Mr. A. Subbiah as Permanent Representative

(c) Prof. V.I. Subramoniam, or his alternate Mr. V.S. Thyagarajan.

5. *The Fourth Conference*. The invitation of the Ceylon National Unit of the I.A.T.R. to hold the Fourth Conference in Ceylon was accepted with applause.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

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